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Pro-Slavery.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION IN THE LEGISLATURE—CONDUCT OF THE WHIG PRESS.

The most ominous sign of the times, in connection with the future union, growth and prosperity of these States, is the pertinacity with which the ultra Anti-Slavery fanatics of the Northern and Eastern States maintain their course of hostility in disregard of the constitutional compact. Hitherto this fanatical spirit was confined to Massachusetts and one or two other Eastern States; but it has exhibited its frightful dimensions in the State of New York—in the Empire State—in our Legislature.

Not content with passing resolutions denouncing the extension of Slavery to the newly acquired territories of New Mexico and California, the members of the New York legislature are about to send as a representative of the State of New York in the Senate of the United States, the most honourable and august body on the face of the earth, a man whose past career proves him to be wild, reckless, and desperate, as a politician and Statesman. On the subject of Slavery, and all its phases—even as to its continuance in the Southern States, which is guaranteed by the Constitution—he is a perfect and downright fanatic; one whose influence and counsels cannot but have the effect of widening the breach which, unfortunately, has been made between the Northern and Southern portions of our confederate family, on the subject of Slavery. In an Anti-Slavery speech which he delivered in Cleveland, Ohio, and also in other places, he counselled and advised the Legislature of that State to pass a law concerning fugitives from the South, which would be in direct contravention of the Constitution of the United States—the very instrument which he must swear to maintain and uphold, before he can take his seat in the body to which he is about to be elected by our Legislature.

But this is not all. There is now before the Legislature an act of precisely the description which Mr. Seward advised the Legislature of Ohio to pass in regard to fugitive slaves, and which, if passed, will be an insult to the South, an open violation of the Constitution, and an attack on Southern rights, guarantied in the most solemn manner by that sacred instrument. Such an act has passed the Senate, and if it be not defeated in the Assembly, it will become a law, and in a short time bring about collisions with the South that may eventually lead to the most fatal consequence to the permanence of the American Republic.

Now let us see what course the Whig press has pursued on this subject. One of the organs of that party in this city—the *Courier and Enquirer*—in a long and able article, takes ground against the act in question, and denounces it as a practical attempt to violate the Constitution. The tone of its remarks on the subject is admirable. But how does it contrast with the course which it recently pursued on the subject of the election of ex-Governor Seward to the United States Senate! That journal is perfectly cognizant of the career of Seward. It cannot have forgotten his factious and treasonable conduct towards the South on the Slavery question. It cannot but know that he is one of the most bitter opponents of Southern rights, religiously guarantied, and religiously to be observed and maintained by all patriotic and well meaning men throughout the whole country. And yet it aided and assisted him in procuring his nomination, and would no doubt be exceeding wroth if he be not elected.

What consistency is there in this blowing hot and cold in the same breath? The paper professes to be a warm friend of General Taylor, and intends, no doubt, to support his administration, provided its *coterie* receive some of the spoils of office. But will not that administration have enough of difficulties to encounter, without adding more? Are there not factions enough in Congress, to create excitement and ill-will, but that more should be added? The truth is, the course which the *Courier and Enquirer* and other professedly Whig journals have thought proper to pursue towards the election of ex-Governor Seward, and towards the mischievous bill, now before our Legislature, has been conflicting, and will tend to embarrass the administration of General Taylor. As to the bill itself, if carried into effect, it will be an atrocious violation of the Constitution of the United States, and will only increase the disaffection, already too wide, between the two sections of the Union.—*N. Y. Herald.*

STARTLING ABOLITION MOVEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND—PROPOSED DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

Last month was the seventeenth annual meeting of the famous Anti-Slavery Society of Massachusetts, which was held in Faneuil Hall, Boston.—This is the original Society, composed of the original movers for the agitation of the abolition of Slavery in the Southern States, from which all the speakers and orators of the Wilmot Proviso and Free Soil school have originated, and from whose extensive mint they have drawn their opinions. For seventeen long years this body of men has been agitating the question of abolition in New England, until at last they have leavened the two great parties in this section of the country to such an extent, as to produce such results and debates on this same question as we have recently seen in the present and some previous sessions of Congress.

In another part of this paper will be found the principal official proceedings, resolutions, and declarations of this party, as they were discussed and decided in Faneuil Hall, and from that venerable sanctuary fulminated, like a firebrand of anarchy, over the whole Union.

From these proceedings, it will be seen that the abolition of the tenure of a slave population at the South, at all and every hazard, is declared to be the first and ultimate purpose of these people. Invitations are held out to fugitive slaves in those regions, and every effort and proposition is avowed to effect the object in which they have been engaged for so many years. But, over and beyond these declarations and resolutions, they now come out openly and declare their public hostily to the continuation of the American Union, and *propose to commence a grand movement for the dissolution of the Union*, as soon as may be practicable, by all the means in their power. The same hostility is also declared against all the churches in the land, and every party hitherto organized in the North is comprehended in those denunciations.

The principles and purposes avowed by this party, assembled in open day in Faneuil Hall, Boston, did not excite so much attention at the first period of their meetings, until the demagogues and politicians attached to the other two great parties of the country took up their notions, and made them the basis of political movements in the Northern States. The law relating to fugitive slaves, which has now passed the Senate of New York, in Albany, and which is still pending in the Assembly, is simply, as it will be seen, the mere emanation of the same doctrines and of the same purposes which the great Abolitionists in Faneuil Hall have placed before the world and teach as their creed, in conjunction with the open denunciation of the Union and of the American church. The speeches made by W. H. Seward, during the last Summer, at Cleveland and other places, have caught the same ideas from the same quarter, and are only an additional step made in the progress of this movement, which is already openly declared to be against the continuance of the Union, and for the breaking up of all ties between the Northern and Southern States, as they are guarantied by the Constitution. Mr. Seward, who is the exponent of these principles, and one of the pioneers in New York of the abolition movement which began in Faneuil Hall for the dissolution of the Union—is now elected Senator to Washington from the State of New York. So we go. The original Abolitionists of New England, as we have seen by their proceedings, have taken fresh courage from the progress of the Free Soil and Wilmot Proviso movemen s, and other preliminary issues, which are only gradually uniting to bring around a general consummation in the public mind, similar to what is openly avowed in Faneuil Hall, for the dissolution of the Union.

Such, then, is the extraordinary position in which the country now stands, on the brink of a new administration, which is coming into power in Washington, in consequence of the recent popular election. The Abolitionists of New England are congratulating themselves that the prospects of a dissolution of this great confederacy are now within their ken, and that there is a probability that General Taylor may be the last President of the United States; and that their efforts, their agitations, their debates, their movements, have forced, compelled, and driven both the other great parties, Democrats and Whigs, into the same line of motion, into the same railroad track, from which now they dare not deviate until they arrive at the same terminus and result, namely, a dissolution and breaking up of the Union as it has existed for more than the last half century. It is true, some of the Whig journals in this neighbourhood, and elsewhere, are beginning to wake up to this peerless condition of things, and are calling upon the Legislature, at Albany, to pause in its action in relation to the law now before the Assembly concerning fugitive slaves. Among the leading journals of this class, we are glad to find that one of our contemporaries of Wall street, the *Courier and Enquirer*, has just waked up from a deep dream, shaken off his slumbers, and has discovered, within the last few days, the perilous situation, not only of the Whig party, as regards the hopes of all who look to share the spoils, but also the danger to which this fair and beautiful Union is exposed, if any more encouragement be given to such anti-constitutional and disorganizing opinions. Our contemporary denounces, with great fervour and with perfect justice, the conduct of Whig politicians and Abolitionists, both at Albany and at Washington, who have taken part in favour of such opinions, and who aided and abetted the movements of the original Abolitionists. Yet those same journals, with a weakness which is incomprehensible, and an infatuation which is not to be understood, have been the means of aiding and assisting in the election of W. H. Seward to the Senate of the United States—a man who is the representative of the opinions, principles, and disorganizing doctrines of the Abolitionists, of whatever section, which they have ever uttered in the North.

We do not enter into the moral and abstract question of Slavery—we do not wish to inquire or to decide if it be right or if it be wrong—we will not determine whether it be a "curse" or a blessing; though if we compare the condition of the black race of the South, for the last fifty years, with that of the free blacks of St. Domingo and other West India islands, it would not require a great deal of sagacity to ascertain which of the two conditions is a curse or a blessing. Such reasoning is folly, on the very brink of a volcano threatening the existence of this happy Union—a volcano composed of the various firebrands of the North, varying among each other in complexion and doctrines, from Garrison of Faneuil Hall, to Seward, of Albany; but all tending to the same end—all engaged in the same pursuit of the same object, which can only terminate in the utter destruction of this fair Union and happy confederacy. Is it not time for the American people, of all shades of opinion, to come forward and take that ground which may preserve the country in that happy Union which it has enjoyed, and in which it has grown up for so many past years? Those Statesmen, those politicians, those editors, who are attached to either party, exhibit nothing but ignorance, weakness, folly, and absurdity. What is to be done?—*Ib.*

Selections.

From the Liberator.

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on Wednesday, January 24.

The chair was taken by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Society, at 11 o'clock A. M. who called the meeting to order, and gave opportunity for vocal or silent prayer.

Voted, That Samuel May, jr. Cornelius Bramhall, and Eliza J. Kenny, be assistant Secretaries during the meeting.

Voted, on motion of Wendell Phillips, That the President nominate a Business Commitee of seven persons. The following persons were nominated, and accepted by the Society as that Committee:

William Lloyd Garrison, Edmund Quincy, Wendell Phillips, Charles K. Whipple, Anne W. Weston, Stephen S. Foster, James N. Buffum.

The following persons, on motion of S. May, jr. were nominated and chosen a committee to report a list of officers of the Society for the year ensuing: Samuel May, jr. Bourne Spooner, Oliver Johnson, John M. Fisk, John Bailey, Abby K. Foster, and Edmund Quincy.

Voted, That a committee of four on the Roll and Finance be nominated by the Chair. The following were nominated and chosen:—

James N. Buffum, Samuel Brooke, Joshua T. Everett, Lewis Ford.

Samuel Philbrick, Treasurer, presented his Annual Report, duly audited. The Report was accepted.—It appeared that the receipts of the Society, during the past year, amounted to $8,531 86; its expenditures to $8,277 06; leaving a balance in the treasury, Jan. 1, 1849, of $254 80.

Voted, on motion of Wendell Philips, That we now hear the Annual Report of the Board of Managers, or such portions thereof as the Corresponding Secretary shall select.

Mr. Quincy then read selections from the Report. Notice was given that the Report had been printed, and would be ready for delivery to members and others to-morrow.

Wendell Phillips, from the Committee on Business, reported the following resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That while we look upon the Free Soil movement as the unavoidable result of our principles and agitation, and hail it so far as its formation gives proof of the wider spread of a degree of Anti-Slavery feeling in the community, we feel called upon to warn the old friends of our cause, the veterans of so long and fierce a struggle, not to expect too much from the first gropings of a community which, as yet, sees men but as trees walking; and that we are not to sink the experience of nigh twenty years, to suit the views, or wait the infant movements of those who have just awaked to our enterprise; that the maintaining of our advanced position is the only security we have, that they will persevere in their short measure—the only sheet anchor when this experiment necessary for their education has failed, as in its present form it must—the corps of reserve by which alone their broken ranks and disheartened courage are to be succoured, and the labours of so many years saved, when this transition period is passed.

2. Resolved, That as the success of the Slave Power, in usurping the control of our government has been owing to its being made the paramount object of a large class in the community, and especially in the slave States, no effectual resistance can be made to such a conspiracy, but by a party prepared to make resistance to the Slave Power the exclusive and paramount object of its existence; and hence we view with alarm and deep regret the course of the Free Soil party in putting in nomination, in some cases, men who were not prepared to pledge themselves to the support of even their platform of principles, deeming such a course treason to the hopes, and deserving to forfeit the trust of the Anti-Slavery public.

3. Resolved, That we cannot look upon the Free Soil party as an Anti-Slavery party, in any proper sense of the term, as no effectual resistance can be made to the Slave Power except by a party prepared and pledged to trample under foot the compromises of the Constitution; and we look upon any success attending the efforts of the Free Soil movement, as due only to the fear entertained by the South, that their candidates will in reality be false to their oaths of office, and ready to make every use, covertly, of that Anti-Slavery sentiment in the community which far outruns its platform, and has long ago snapped asunder the bonds of the Union.

4. Resolved, That the church which is in religious fellowship with slaveholders, or the members of which are in political alliance with slaveholders,—or which cherishes and exemplifies the spirit of complexional caste,—or which does not make the immediate abolition of Slavery its special concern, is not worthy to be recognized as a church of Christ, has no claim upon human sympathy or respect, and ought to be abandoned by every one as radically defective in Christian principle and character; and whoever continues in willing connection and conformity with such a church, is to be regarded as an actual supporter of Slavery.

Voted, on motion of Oliver Johnson, to adjourn to 2 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

WEDNESDAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.—Society met according to adjournment, the President in the chair.

The resolutions reported in the morning were again read, and on motion of S. May, jr. the first three resolutions, relating to the Free Soil party, were taken up for consideration.

Stephen S. Foster, of Worcester, objected to the resolutions, that they admitted too much in behalf of the Free Soil party, and would tend to reconcile the members of that party to their present position.

James N. Buffum, of Lynn, moved that all persons present, whether friendly to this Society and its principles or not, whether Anti-Slavery or Pro-Slavery, be invited to take part in the discussions of this meeting. Adopted, unanimously.

Stephen S. Foster moved to re-commit the resolutions on the Free Soil party, which was seconded.

E. Quincy opposed the re-commitment.

Leave being granted, the following resolution was offered and adopted:

Resolved, That every friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, present at our meetings, be invited to enrol his or her name as a member of this body, and also to give one dollar, or such other sum as is thought proper, towards defraying the expenses of this annual meeting.

S. S. Foster withdrew his motion to re-commit, and moved to amend the first resolution by substituting as follows:

Resolved, That we hail with joy the breaking up of the two great political parties of the country, as conclusive evidence of the progress of Anti-Slavery sentiments, even though their sundered fragments may have been re-united on ground scarcely less pro-slavery than that of the parties from which they have been torn.

Lewis Hayden spoke in opposition to the substitution.

The discussion was continued by Wendell Phillips and Abby K. Foster.

At 5 1-2 o'clock, adjourned to 7 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY—EVENING SESSION.—The Society re assembled according to adjournment; Edmund Quincy, of Dedham, in the chair,—who read the resolutions before the meeting.

James N. Buffum moved to lay the resolutions on the table, that an opportunity might be afforded to introduce to the audience two recent fugitives from Slavery in Georgia; which motion was carried.

William B. Brown then gave a brief sketch of the interesting and remarkable escape from Slavery of William and Ellen Craft. He read an extract from a New Jersey paper, a correspondent of which had observed this fugitive couple on board of one of the steamboats, and had been struck by something unusual in their appearance. They are quite young; Ellen, the wife, is so nearly white that, by clothing herself in male attire, she was enabled to pass for a white man, while her husband attended her as her servant. In this way they took the principal travelled route, and came to Philadelphia in four days, where they met with many that rejoiced with them in their hazardous but completely successful undertaking. The husband was a journeyman cabinet-maker, and by industry and prudence had been able to lay by a sum sufficient to pay the expenses of their flight; this, besides paying $220 annually to his master, and the cost of his own support. These fugitives, whose appearance is such as warmly to prepossess every spectator in their behalf, were then invited to the platform, and introduced to the audience. They were received with cheers and expressions of great interest on the part of the audience. Mr. Brown said he wished to lay three propositions before the audience, that they might be answered in hearing of these fugitives. *First.* All present who will help return a slave to his bondage, will please to say *Yes.* None replied. *Second.* All who would stand still, and do nothing, for or against him, will please to say *Yes* None replied* *Third.* All who would aid in protecting, rescuing and saving him from Slavery, will say *Yes.* An immense and prolonged assent, reminding one of the "everlasting yea," came up from the meeting.

William W. Brown, himself a fugitive, then sang an Anti-Slavery song, which was much applauded.

Henry C. Wright moved to take up the resolutions on the Free Soil party. This was carried, and Mr. W. addressed the meeting in their support, showing the pro-slavery character of the Constitution, and that the Free Soil party goes for maintaining the compromises with Slavery. He showed the inconsistency of those who had just responded so enthusiastically to W. W. Brown's question, that they would protect and rescue the fugitive slave, while they supported a Constitution which bound them to deliver up the fugitive.

Several gentlemen of the Free Soil party, who were present, were here called upon to speak, but did not.

The discussion was continued by S. S. Foster, W. Phillips, and W. L. Garrison, the first in support of his amendment, the last two in support of the resolutions.

On motion of H. C. Wright, adjourned to Thursday, 10 o'clock, A. M.

THURSDAY—MORNING SESSION.—Jan. 25. The Society re-assembled in Faneuil Hall, according to adjournment. FRANCIS JACKSON in the chair.

The resolution on the Free Soil movement again came up. Mrs. Abby K. Foster defended the amendment offered by S. S. Foster. The subject was further discussed by J. T. Everett, Mr. Osgood of Salisbury, (the same who came upon our platform last year to defend the Liberty party,) William A. White of Watertown, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and S. S. Foster.

THURSDAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.—Met again in Faneuil Hall, Francis Jackson in the chair.

The committee on the nomination of officers reported, by their chairman, a list of persons to act as officers of the Society the ensuing year. Their report was accepted, and the persons therein named were accordingly elected—as follows:

President—FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

Vice Presidents—Andrew Robeson, New Bedford; Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Stillman Lathrop, Cambridge; Amos Farnsworth, Groton; Adin Ballou, Milford; John M. Fisk, West Brookfield; Joshua T. Everett, Princeton; Effingham L. Capron, Worcester; William B. Earle, Leicester; Jefferson Church, Springfield; William B. Stone, Gardner; Oliver Gardner, Nantucket; Nathan Webster, Haverhill; George Hoyt, Athol; John C. Gore, Roxbury; Caroline Weston, Weymouth; Zenas Rhoades, New Marlboro'; Benjamin Snow, Fitchburg; George Miles, Westminster; James N. Buffum, Lynn; Cyrus Pierce, Newton; John T. Hilton, Cambridgeport; Thomas T. Stone, Salem; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; William Ashby, Newburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; Charles F. Hovey, Boston.

Corresponding Secretary—Edmund Quincy, Dedham.

Recording Secretary—Robert F. Wallcut, Boston.

Treasurer—Samuel Philbrick, Brookline.

Auditor—Edmund Jackson, Boston.

Counsellors—William Lloyd Garrison, Maria Weston Chapman, Cornelius Bramhall, Henry I. Bowditch, John M. Spear, James Russell Lowell, Wendell Phillips, John Rogers, Anne Warren Weston, Eliza Lee Follen, Charles K. Whipple, Samuel May, jr.

The amendment offered by S. S. Foster was rejected. The resolutions numbered 1, 2 and 3 were then adopted.

Voted, To take up the resolution on the church.

Nahum Osgood spoke in opposition to the resolution, and in favour of union with the American church.

James N. Buffum replied, and vindicated the soundness and necessity of the resolution.

Henry C. Wright spoke on the same side, and declared himself opposed to everything which went for the enslavement of man, whether governments, or churches, or Bibles, or the gods of this nation.

Wendell Phillips moved that the resolution be laid on the table, to take up the subject of funds for the future operations of the Society. This was carried, and Mr. Phillips addressed the friends of the cause in an earnest speech for aid.

Samuel May, jr. introduced the following resolution, and spoke briefly in its support:—

Resolved, That in prosecuting the work of the redemption of the slave, and in our determination to be deterred from that object by no Constitutions or Party Organizations, or Ecclesiastical Combinations whatever, we summon all the true friends of Freedom and Humanity to come to our aid, and sustain, during the year on which we have entered, that great moral movement which has laid the axe at the root of Slavery's tree, by their most generous contributions and pledges.

The Committee on Finance then and subsequently received pledges, to be paid within the year, amounting to upwards of seven hundred dollars. They also received, in money, donations amounting to about ninety dollars, besides a sum sufficient to defray all expenses of calling and holding the annual meeting.

The resolution on the church was again taken up, and Mr. Garrison made on eloquent exposure of the weak idea which had been advanced that we should *go back* "to the old Anti-Slavery ground."

Adjourned to 7 o'clock.

THURSDAY—EVENING SESSION.—Met according to adjournment, when the chair was taken by James N. Buffum, a Vice President.

The resolution on the church being before the Society, Edmund Quincy spoke in its support.

Parker Pillsbury followed in justification of the course of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its friends in boldly exposing and rebuking the faithless and Pro-Slavery course of the American churches. He spoke of the influence of these churches as on the wane.

Wendell Phillips took a different view from Mr. Pillsbury, of the influence of the churches, and commended the energy, perseverance and ability with which they laboured for the ends they sought. He acknowledged their bigotry, and condemned their course on the subject of Slavery, and would not regard them as Christian churches; but he said they were enemies not to be thought of lightly, and Abolitionists might learn a useful lesson from them of dauntless and unwearied self-devotion.

Mr. Phillips, before taking his seat, again introduced William and Ellen Craft, the Georgia fugitives, to the meeting. They were received with even more hearty and prolonged cheering than on the evening previous.

The case of these fugitives occupied the attention of the meeting the remainder of the evening. James N. Buffum, Henry C. Wright, W. L. Garrison, and Lucy Stone addressed the meeting. Miss Stone spoke in an uncommonly eloquent and touching strain.

At a late hour, adjourned, to Friday morning, 10 o'clock.

FRIDAY—MORNING SESSION.—The Society met again in Faneuil Hall; Francis Jackson in the chair.

The resolution on the Church being the subject before the Society, it was spoken to by Samuel May, jr. and Parker Pillsbury.

Its adoption was moved by S. S. Foster.

Seward Mitchell moved to amend that resolution by substituting the following:—

Resolved That as the American Church has been fully proved to be the Bulwark of Slavery, we believe the time has come when it should be destroyed, root and branch, as of no use to the people, and a curse to every cause of moral reform.

After remarks by Mr. Mitchell and John C. Cluer the amendment, on motion of Edwin Thompson, was laid on the table.

The question was then taken on the original resolution (that numbered 4,) and adopted without a dissenting vote.

Stephen S. Foster introduced the following resolution, and advocated it at length:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Society, it is expedient to organize a system of measures designed to array its friends at the ballot boxes, there to vote for men pledged to take no oath to the Constitution of the United States, and to use all their influence to dissolve the Union.

Adjourned, to quarter before 3 o'clock.

FRIDAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.—Met according to adjournment, when the chair was taken by Francis Jackson.

The resolution offered in the morning by S. S. Foster came up, and was supported by W. Jenkins of Andover, and opposed by W. L. Garrison.

On motion of E. Quincy, the resolution was laid on the table.

Charles Stearns offered the following resolution, and supported it in some very earnest remarks respecting the suffering of many of the labouring people of the North:—

Whereas, the rights of the labourer at the North are identified with those of the Southern slave, and cannot be obtained as long as Chattel Slavery rears its hydra head in our land; and whereas, the same arguments which apply to the situation of the crushed slave, are also in force in reference to the condition of the Northern labourer—although in a less degree; therefore,

Resolved, That it is equally incumbent upon the working-men of the North to espouse the cause of the emancipation of the slave, and upon Abolitionists to advocate the cause of the free labourer.

John C. Cluer attributed the greater part of the suffering of the Northern labouring people, and especially of the poor Irish, to a free use of intoxicating drinks. He said he had paid much attention to these subjects, viz: the rights of the labourer, and intemperance, and he spoke with full assurance of the truth of what he said.

Mr. Stearn's resolution was adopted, and the Society adjourned to 7 o'clock.

FRIDAY.—EVENING SESSION.—The Society met, according to adjournment, in Faneuil Hall; Francis Jackson, President, in the chair.

Mr. Garrison, Chairman of the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, That THE ONE GREAT OBJECT to be attempted and achieved, to secure the emancipation of our enslaved countrymen—to assert and protect the rights of the people of the North—and to impose the awful criminality involved in the slave system exclusively upon the incorrigible tyrants of the South—is, THE IMMEDIATE DISSOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN UNION—a Union based on the prostrate bodies of three millions of the people, and cemented with their blood—a Union which gives absolute power and perfect security to the wholesale traffickers in human flesh, by its combined military and naval power, and the overthrow of which would inevitably burst asunder the chain of every bondman—a Union in which freedom of speech and of the press, the right of petition, and self and equal locomotion, are cloven down, and the citizens of one portion of the country are seized for no alleged crime in another portion, hurried to prison, kept in chains, plundered of their property, and in numerous instances sold on the auction block at public vendue as slaves, in lots to suit purchasers.

Resolved, That in openly and unequivocally advocating Slavery as a just, beneficent and democratic institution, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, is to be commended for his frankness and directness; that for his earnestness, consistency, intrepidity and self-sacrifice, in defending and seeking to extend and perpetuate what he thus professes to regard as unparalleled excellent, he is equally to be commended; and that he stands in honourable contrast, and is incomparably to be preferred, to those Northern time-servers and dough-faces, who professedly look upon Slavery with abhorrence, and yet are found ever ready to compromise the sacred principles of liberty, to betray the rights of the people of the North, and on bended knee to worship the Slave Power of the South.

They were supported by W. L. Garrison and Henry C. Wright.

John C. Cluer asked leave (which was granted,) to read to the meeting an account of a Catholic slave girl in Georgetown, D. C. who was soon to be sold to the South, if not redeemed. A man was said to be now in Boston, raising money to purchase her freedom. Mr. C. also asked leave to take up a collection in the meeting to aid this object; this was agreed to, and the sum of $17.34 was contributed.

William W. Brown advocated the resolutions, and declared that he could do no less than make war upon a Constitution and Union which made a chattel of him, and utterly refused to acknowledge his right to Freedom or to protect him in it. He referred to the two fugitives from Slavery, who had attended some of our previous meetings, and again introduced them to the audience, who received them with enthusiastic greetings. Mr. Brown again gave a sketch of their method of projecting and executing their bold attempt.

Wendell Phillips referred eloquently to the case of these interesting fugitives. He said that we should look in vain through the most trying times of our Revolutionary history for an incident of courage and noble daring to equal that of the escape of William and Ellen Craft; and future historians and poets would tell this story as one of the most thrilling in the nation's annals; and millions would read it with admiration of the hero and heroine of the story, and would wish that *they* could have lived to take part in the glorious struggle of Freedom and justice and humanity against Slavery, fraud and tyranny. Mr. Phillips closed with reading the petition to the Massachusetts Legislature (now in session,) for a secession from the Union, and called upon all who were not mere hearers, but doers, to come up and sign and circulate this petition.

Mr. Garrison, from the Business Committee, then reported the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That if, in the earlier days of our Anti-Slavery struggle, the utmost zeal and alacrity were wisely and effectually shown by Abolitionists, in circulating petitions for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and for the repeal of all laws in this Commonwealth in derogation of the rights of our coloured population, it is incomparably more important, now, that they should manifest at least as much zeal and alacrity in circulating, for popular signatures, the petitions to the legislature for the immediate secession of Massachusetts from a Union in which she is held as a vassal, and which serves only to pollute and degrade her.

Voted, That the question be now taken on the three resolutions reported this evening.

The question was then taken on the resolutions separately, and they were unanimously adopted.

Voted to adjourn, *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.
C. BRAMHALL,
ELIZA J. KENNY,
} *Assistant Secretaries.*

We gladly give a prominent place to the following interesting letter on the subject of Slavery in Jamaica and Cuba. It is enough for us to remark that the writer is a gentleman on whose statements of facts implicit reliance may be placed. Our Southern friends of the press do not often copy from our columns on the subject of their "peculiar institution," but perhaps, for the information of their readers, they may be willing to make an exception in this instance. We trust, as we confidently expect, that further future developments of evidence may fully establish the correctness of the views of the working of emancipation in the British Islands, contained in the letter of our esteemed correspondent. And at the present period it is too important a contribution to the general discussion of the merits of this great question of SLAVERY, with which the public mind is fermenting, to permit us to publish it without inviting to it the particular attention of our readers.—*Evening Post.*

(Correspondence of the Evening Post.)

HAVANA, Jan. 7, 1849.

Every reflecting American has of course looked with no small degree of interest to the great experiment of the abolition of Slavery in the British West India Islands. Its results must go far to influence the destiny of that sad and fatal institution in our own Slave States also. For myself, I, from a very early period, looked to that quarter of the heavens as the region where was to appear the first dawn of that thrice-blessed day, which should witness the fall of the last shackle from the last slave in our own dear and glorious land. Early accounts of the success of the emancipation in Antigua (where it was first carried into complete effect, without any transition stage of "apprenticeship,") awakened a confident hope that many years would not pass before "a great change would take place" in the minds of our own Southern slave owners themselves, causing them to be the most anxious for the benefits of a similar reform. At that period an intelligent owner of a plantation in Antigua assured me that, far from needing or being entitled to any compensation from the British Government for the emancipation of their slaves, the interest of the former masters themselves might rather have led them, if they had rightly understood it, to pay an equal amount for the benefits of the change.

This was stated by the person referred to, at a dinner party at the White House at Washington, about ten years ago, with a confession of the abandonment of former strong prejudices on the subject. Confirmed by other similar evidences, as well as by all natural reasoning on the question, I was led to wait, with patient hope, that solution of the problem of Slavery in the United States which must, sooner or later, be brought home to us, practically and conclusively, from the emancipated West India Islands. Let but our own Southern slave-owners have their eyes open to the truth that they may cast off the burthen of this institution, not only with safety, but with positive benefit to themselves as the capitalist and proprietary class, and all question on the subject would of course be at an end. If Federal aid were in any way needed, we of the North should then have only to resist their appeals to us, to violate the Constitution for the speedier abolition of Slavery.

Well, thus far it must be confessed that this hope has not been realised. As a measure supposed to be beneficial to the proprietors of the land, or even reconcilable with their interests emancipation in those islands has hitherto been generally regarded as a failure. There has been a great falling off in the production and exports of their staples, sugar and coffee. The supplies of labour required for the working of the estates have been irregular and inefficient; the cry of distress from the proprietors has been loud and constant; and they have declared themselves and the island ruined past redemption.

I say nothing about the interest of the negroes in question—the former slaves, now the free labouring population of the islands. *We*, probably, should regard that as a pretty important consideration in judging of the "success" of the emancipation. If their condition, moral and material, had experienced even a fraction of the improvement naturally to be expected from their *creation* out of Slavery into the life of Freedom, we might, perhaps, find in that result consolation for our regrets at some reduction in the annual crops and incomes of their ex-masters; for, after all, Corporal Trim was not far from the truth in his idea that negroes have souls as well as we. But we could hardly expect our Southern friends to view the subject in exactly the same light. And I am speaking of the alleged "failure" of the English experiment, and its supposed disastrous consequences to those colonists, only in reference to the interests of the proprietors.

You will share the gratification with which I am able to inform you of some interesting evidence which has reached me here, tending to reverse the impression generally entertained at home, and universally among our Southern slave owners, respecting the practical working of the emancipation in the island of Jamaica.

I was present a few days ago at a conversation between two large sugar planters and slaveholders of this island, Cuba; one of them was relating to the other the substance of some communications recently received by him from a friend of his in Jamaica, an English planter, whose arrival he shortly expected on a visit to Cuba.—The latter was described as a highly intelligent man, a first-rate planter, and the proprietor of two sugar estates in Jamaica. This gentleman pronounced wholly untrue the common impression that the emancipation was a disastrous measure, and fatal to the proprietors. Its first effects had indeed been such, but chiefly through the fault of the planters themselves, and the wasteful and bad methods of management which were incident to the system of slave labour, and which remained after the emancipation of the slaves; but now it was all working out to his entire satisfaction. The inability to procure the amount of labour required for the culture and manufacture of the sugar (which processes, you know are united in the same hands, the planter employing extensive and costly machinery to manufacture his sugar on the spot where he grows the cane,) had forced them to the adoption of labour saving improvements and economies; and with the aid of these, all the labour needed could be obtained from the negroes for moderate wages, better in quality, and cheaper in expense to the planter, than under the old system of Slavery. In particular, he stated that he had recently introduced on his estates certain improvements by means of which the sugar boiling process was performed within twelve hours of the day, instead of occupying the whole twenty-four, as formerly, and as still practised elsewhere, and that he was now able to have as much labour as he wanted, at a shilling a day, costing him much less than the expenses formerly of maintaining the requisite force of slaves.

To appreciate this, let me inform you that on the Cuban estates, best and most humanely managed, the negroes work eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, during the crop season, or about half the year; and not much less than that during the rest of the year.

Remember the character and authority of the gentleman making this communication to his friend and brother-planter in Cuba. The commentary of the two Cuban planters upon it was, that if this was so, then there was nothing for them to apprehend in the extension of emancipation to Cuba also. One of them was owner of two hundred slaves; the other, of a much larger number.

In confirmation of this, I have also learned from a very intelligent and well informed merchant of this city and old resident, the following important fact, namely: that very recently another Jamacia planter, a thoroughly practical man, and thoroughly acquainted with the subject, had visited Cuba for the purpose of inspecting in detail the whole system of the sugar industry of the island with a view to determine the question whether it was possible for the planters of Jamaica to produce sugar in competition with those of Cuba, without the support of protection in the British market; the last remnant of that protection, by discrimination between free and slave grown sugar, being on the eve of being taken away.

After a full investigation, and visits to numerous estates in different parts of the island, the result of the mission of this gentleman was that he departed satisfied that Jamaica had nothing to fear in the competition; with the mere exception of the superiority of the soil, which was an advantage in favour of Cuba.

Of course, I do not take the liberty of printing the names of the parties above referred to. I hope that you at least will regard it as sufficient to have described them as has been done. It is not easy to imagine what better testimony could be desired, so far as it goes, and so far as regards the authentic and authoritative character of those by whom it is rendered. I cannot but repose confidence in it, and feel free to indulge the happy hopes which it suggests, in reference to the destiny of the institution of Slavery, not only in this island, but in our own Slave States. Let it but become a public and notorious fact, so established as to compel the assent of the slave owners themselves, that as much effective and productive labour can be relied upon from the emancipated slave, with the substitution of reasonable wages paid only to the annual labourers, in lieu of the maintenance of the whole slave family, old and young, sick and well, and there is an end of Slavery!

The question may then be well left where it most properly belongs, with the masters themselves. Few among them would long remain deaf to the mute eloquence of the facts and figures brought home to each one's own pocket, which would then succeed to the unwelcome declamations of an agressive foreign philanthropy. They would themselves become, as they indeed should be, and alone can be to any useful purpose, the "Abolitionists" *par excellence.* And as for any practical difficulties in the matter, the will would soon find the way. South Carolina, herself may yet, before many years, be seen setting a nobler example to her sister States that share her present misfortune under the blighting burthen of Slavery, by passing some wise law of emancipation, adapted to reconcile the interests of both master and slave in a manner satisfactory to all. And if you would ask where any fund is to be found sufficient to pay for the liberation of three millions of slaves, I would answer (putting out of view the "shining mountains" of our new acquisitions on the Pacific) that the object might be attained, either by the liberation of children born after a certain period, or by establishing by State law a certain scale of reasonable valuation according to age, sex, health and education, at which every slave should have the right to purchase his or her own freedom; and by then organizing a fair system of *task work*, which would enable the slave to give the master as much useful service in labour as heretofore, with the privilege of devoting the surplus time which the slave would then earn for himself to extra labour for his own redemption. Depend upon it, that so far as regards the main bulk of the slaves everywhere, full one-third of their time would soon come to be applied to this latter object; during the remaining two-thirds their owners would receive from them a more satisfactory and profitable service than has heretofore been lazily spread over the whole of their time; a brief term of years would pay off the price due by them for themselves; and they would then remain a far more serviceable and cheaper class of labourers for their employers as freemen than they had ever been as slaves. I repeat, that let but the *will* be called into existence, in the manner above indicated as probable, and there will not long remain any difficulty about the *way*.

Excuse me if I add to this already long letter a few more words on this interesting subject of Freedom and Slavery in the West India Island.

That the Jamaica ex masters could not get from the free negroes, in a tropical climate, and on a tropical soil, *seventeen or eighteen hours a day of work*, by any inducements of wages, whether within or beyond their power to pay, is no matter of wonder. Nor can we be surprised that great confusion for a few years should have been thrown into the entire system of industry, agricultural and manufacturing, which had grown up under Slavery, and which was based upon that unlimited control of the Labour of the country by its Capital, which is implied in the word Slavery. A *period of transition* had necessarily to be passed through, before the existing race of masters and overseers could introduce the changes in management and machinery made necessary by such a fundamental change in the relation between capital and labour—before they could be taught both the necessity, and the proper modes of making those changes.

Science in husbandry, labour saving improvements in machinery, and general economy in administration, these were the lessons which time alone could teach; without which the revolutionized system of industry of the country could

and himself a full-blooded South Carolinian, acknowledges that in general intercourse here he has found twenty "Abolitionists" for one to be found in our own Slave States.

There is a large number of industrious and thriving free blacks in Cuba; men are accustomed to employ and see employed to mutual satisfaction as labourers. The step would, therefore, be an easier one, and with fewer objections and prejudices of strangeness to be overcome, in the transition from Slavery to Freedom, than in those slave communities of our own where the few free blacks that are to be found are generally regarded as a lazy worthless set.

The Slave Trade has very much fallen off in Cuba. The late Captain-General O'Donnell, during the latter part of his term of office, in truth and reality discountenanced it, under positive orders from Spain, extorted by the energy with which England insisted upon the fulfilment of the treaties on the subject. Roncali has thus far pursued the same course. Few slave cargoes are now landed, though the cessation is not indeed complete. Intelligent planters compute that the slave population of the island is falling off, during the past two or three years, at the rate of five per cent a year.

This is not incredible, when it is remembered that heretofore the principal reliance for keeping up the stock of slaves on the estates, has rather been the Slave Trade than the natural increase. On no small number of estates, the cruel policy has been pursued by the masters of confining their force almost entirely to the *men*, with but a trifling proportion of women; and even where this is not the case, still excessive work and bad management have in general kept down to a small proportion the number of children born and successfully reared.

The Cubans proper, that is, the Creoles or natives, as distinguished from the "Old Spaniards," are almost to a man in favour of annexation to our Union; eager for it, and willing to pay the Spanish Government handsomely for it. And if you should ask whether they would be willing to come in with a condition of some measures of prospective emancipation, or with representation of the free population alone in Congress, I have no hesitation in expressing my belief that if the island were now independent, the inhabitants would pronounce in favour of such admission to our Union by a large majority.

But I fear that this letter is already too long for your columns, and can only hope that the interest of the subject may induce you to excuse the length into which it has led me. Adieu, till another time.

Yours, &c.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY FEBRUARY, 15,1849.

Mr. Calhoun's Report.

A thorough practical treatise on the obstetrics of mountains, with a statement of authenticated cases, would seem to be still a *desideratum* in medical science. Although the report of Æsop upon the earliest recorded occurrence of the kind has been sustained by a great deal of experience since, the public mind continues to be roused to an unhealthy state of excitement by the intelligence that an interesting event is expected to take place in the mountain family. As a general rule, the race has been distinguished for its steady habits, but individuals have been known to fall into habits of dissipation, scattering their pocket-fulls of rocks in the most spendthrift manner, and some have displayed a dangerous predilection for playing with fire, which has rendered them very uncomfortable neighbours. Suppose some unbreeched monster should scream for a *crater*, and an overfond mother should indulge him with so terrible a plaything, who would answer for the result? On what kind of a coral shall young Master Mountain cut his ponderous granite molars, and those canine teeth, productive of so much riot in the nursery, and at midnight compelling the *sansculotted* father to an enforced enlistment in the order of peripatetic philosophers? Members of the family, old enough to know better, sometimes discover a mischievous vein, witness the pranks which Emerson has reported of the venerable Monadnock. A dreadful crisis, also, may be expected when the young aspirant, just emerging from hillockhood, shall make choice of a profession. If he should prove of an atrabilious turn, and insist on being a volcano!

These and other such considerations no doubt combined to keep the public in a feverish state of apprehension when it was noised abroad that a very eminent mountain was daily expecting her *accouchement* at Washington. If the hitherto spotless Jung Frau had run off with Ben Nevis, or if Jim Borazo and Sary Nevada (of whom we have heard some of our returned volunteers speak) had been looking forward to the birth of an heir, the newspapers could not have been fuller of it. The services of Mr. Calhoun had been engaged as man-midwife, and everything seemed to portend some tremendous consummation. Nevertheless, at the end of the appropriate period of gestation, nothing but a faint squeak is heard, and it is discovered that mountains continue, as in the days of Æsop, to bring forth mice. Indeed, in the present instance, even this legitimate progeny is smaller than usual. The offspring of the Southern mountain, like Burns's fieldmouse, is a

"Wee, sleekit, cowerin,' timorous, beastie."

Diminutive, however, as it is, Mr. Calhoun has taken the precaution to muzzle it, threatening to let it loose upon the North unless that section of the country maintains a very respectful and even subservient demeanour.—Probably, from long experience, he conceives of the North, as sagacious Nick Bottom did of the ladies, that it would be thrown into convulsions of terror by

"The smallest monstrous mouse that creeps on ground."

Nevertheless, emboldened by such knowledge of natural history as we are masters of, we shall venture to approach this prodigious little creature and to describe it for the benefit of our readers. Upon a nearer examination, we even begin to suspect either that mountains have degenerated, or that this is no real mouse after all, but a stuffed specimen, a counterfeit, introduced, perhaps, as was rumoured of the Pretender, in a warmingpan.

Mr. Calhoun's document is not so much a Report as a Jeremiad. It consists mainly of a catalogue of the wrongs and grievances which the Southern Israel has sustained at the hands of the Heathen round about. In one respect it is meritoriously distinguished from the doleful palaver of Northern Pro-Slavery. Its tone is gentlemanly, and there is no snuffle, no piety in it from beginning to end. Ham is not alluded to, and there is no hypocritical twaddle about the mysterious designs of an inscrutable Providence. Let us be thankful that we at last have a Pro-Slavery appeal in which the Slaveholder and not Slavery is defended, in which the guilt of wrong and inhumanity is not laid to the charge of the benign Father of us all.

The Report may also claim another merit, that of adroitness. An aggressive tone is assumed throughout. It is the South that has all along been the injured party, enduring, with too Christian a forbearance, a series of outrages as atrocious as they were unprovoked. Mr. Calhoun, from long experience, evidently understands all the properties of Northern dough, an article for the raising of which no yeast powerful enough has yet been invented, and which, we sincerely believe, will be behindhand in rising at the last day. Mr. Calhoun probably remembers the expedient made use of centuries ago by the masters of insurgent Sicilian slaves, and, when other weapons have failed, brandishes the whip, trusting not vainly to the *prestige* of its traditionary terrors.

Mr. Calhoun's first tears are shed over the fatal Missouri Compromise. This was the first attack upon the rights of the South, the first only because here the earliest opportunity was offered. The question of the admission of Missouri, as a Slave State, for a time rendered the continued integrity of the Union doubtful. An ominous crack already began to run along and to open wider and wider between the opposing sections of the country. The glue of the famous Compromise made all sound again in appearance, but left the cemented members more liable to split asunder at the first throe of convulsion. The mention of the Compromise reminds Mr. Calhoun that, in point of fact, aggression began much earlier, and that nothing but a spirit of self-sacrificing concession on the part of the Southern States rendered the original formation of the Union possible. He must go deeper down and further back than this for the origin of the Anti-Slavery movement, and seek it, if anywhere, in the nature of man.

Mr. Calhoun and other pleaders for the peculiar institution seem to think that the claim to buy and sell human beings gathers validity by the distance of time at which it was recognized as a portion of our political system, and that its respectability is proportionate to its antiquity. But, however true this may be of just and rightful things, it is certain that age only attracts a deeper damnation toward what is wrong and unjust. The force of the antagonism to it is cumulative, like the poison of arsenic. Every year adds its horror and its odium, lengthening out the loathsome vista with new objects for indignation and new claims for retribution and redress. The age of Slavery, like the gray hair of Cenci, only heightens the sense of its atrocity. Shall it claim a privilege for cruelty because it has been cruel long? Shall it sanctify tyranny by the plea of invariable usage?

After showing what divinity doth constitutionally hedge Slavery in the Southern States, Mr. Calhoun proceeds to draw a charming picture of the precautions taken to prevent the escape of runaways, and of the assistance which the pursuing master received from citizens of Free States in those earlier and simpler days of the Republic. But like other pictures of a bygone Arcadia, it unfortunately is not founded on truth. There was never so much or so sincere Anti-Slavery feeling in the Northern States as at the period immediately following the Revolution. This is made evident by the emancipation, or the movements toward it, which took place at that time. That it was not easy to recover fugitives in some of the States, we have ample evidence. There is now in existence an unpublished letter from General Washington to Joseph Whipple, Collector at Portsmouth, (N. H.) asking his aid in the recapture of an escaped woman—a favourite slave of Mrs. Washington. The General asks the Collector's opinion as to whether an attempt to send her back to Virginia, would be likely to excite a popular commotion and lead to violent resistance. We have seen the rough draught of Mr. Whipple's answer in his own hand-writing. He displays a sufficient lack of zeal in the undertaking, thinks the woman could not be peaceably kidnapped, and concludes by hoping that Slavery will soon be abolished throughout the country. Whether any farther correspondence took place we do not know, but the woman was never molested, and died a few years ago in New Hampshire. A correspondent of the Liberator, at the time of her death, sent a notice of it to that paper, with an outline of her story as related by herself. Considering that fifty years had elapsed since the date of her escape, her narrative tallied with the facts of the case with truly wonderful exactness.

Mr. Calhoun next laments the change which has come over the amicable relations of the oppressing race in the two great sections of the country. He shows that, in spite of the figurative decision of Mr. Justice Baldwin, of Connecticut, who pronounced Slavery to be the corner stone on which the fabric of our Government rests, the obstacles thrown in the way of the exhilerating sport of man-hunting are becoming daily more insurmountable A hundred years hence it will be almost incredible that an American statesman should exhibit such a tender regret over the decline of a pastime so horribly inhuman.

The next pathetic remonstrance of the Report is in regard to the extension of Slavery into the newly-acquired territories. It appears that it is the insult of the thing which our too sensitive Southern brethren feel so keenly. They do not wish to *extend* Slavery to California and New Mexico—not in the least. They merely wish to emigrate thither with their slaves! A distinction as nice as that of Ancient Pistol between stealing and conveying. "*Convey*, the wise it call." They would like to convey Slavery thither and not to extend it. This metaphysical subtlety indicates Mr. Calhoun's Scotch extraction as plainly as when he says "we *would* (should) in a word, change conditions with them" (the slaves), a piece of Christian fellowship very far, we suspect, from the thought of the Chairman of the Southern Committee.

A Southern Report on Slavery in which Captain Bobadil did not have a finger would be incomplete. Accordingly Mr. Calhoun goes on to mourn that partial surrender of independent sovereighty to the exigencies of union which precludes the gallant South from an appeal to arms. He seems entirely to overlook the fact that such a position of affairs would bring about emancipation in the speediest and least satisfactory way. The compensation, in that case, would be exacted by the other party to the Institution, and would have to be paid in something redder than gold. May Heaven avert so righteous yet so dreadful a consummation!—We must in justice say that this is the only part of Mr. Calhoun's Report which is absolutely boyish. Could we put its subject wholly out of view, could we forget that it is a plea for the most enormous tyranny which (taking it in relation to the age and country in which it exists) the world ever saw, we should say that the tone of the whole document was dignified and gentlemanly.

As to what is said in regard to the number of volunteers for the Mexican war furnished by the North and South respectively, we are very glad to accept Mr. Calhoun's statistics. It is gratifying to know that the most populous and civilized portion of the country supplied only half as many marauding barbarians as the other.—This was to have been expected.

On the whole, the Report may be considered as one of the most cheering signs of the times. Its tone of confidence is evidently an assumed one. It is the stratagem of a general who kindles needless watch-fires in his camp to convey an impression of his strength to the enemy, and who seems to threaten an assault when there is nothing he dreads so much as an engagement with the enemy. There is a slight quaver of shaken confidence perceptible throughout, and the effect of it ought to be to redouble the efforts of the enemies of oppression. In particular we hope that the friends of the slave in Congress will be duly impressed with the apprehensions which Mr. Calhoun expresses in regard to emancipation in the District of Columbia, and will be encouraged to more strenuous exertion by his prophecies of the effects likely to follow thereupon. We believe with Mr. Calhoun that the first break in the line of Slavery will be fatal, the speedy precursor of total rout. Already it is more than probable that desertions will soon take place from the ranks of the enemy. It is only the first step which is difficult, and, that once taken, the rest will be only matter of course.

J. R. L.

Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

The Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, presents yearly to that Society a report which is read at the Annual Meeting, and afterward printed for the benefit of those members of the Society who choose to avail themselves of it. Such documents we trust, are more prized now than they used to be, for it is, we know, a difficult, and indeed almost impossible, thing to procure some of the more valuable Reports, and other publications, which were early issued by the various Societies, as they constitute the only reliable contemporaneous history of the progress of the cause. For several years the task of preparing the Annual Report for the Massachusetts Society has devolved upon Mr. Edmund Quincy, and so thoroughly and faithfully does he do his work, so entirely does he cover the whole ground, that his industry is a sufficient excuse for the indolence of Corresponding Secretaries of all other Anti-Slavery Societies in this matter. His reports are successive volumes of History, impartially written, and carefully presenting the cause in all its accidents, progresses, and drawbacks, for the current year. They are the only commentary on passing events to be found out of the columns of the Anti-Slavery newspapers, and will at some future time, when the Anti-Slavery movement shall become a matter of history, be deemed the most reliable source for information in regard to it.

The Seventeenth Report is before us, and is marked by the same vigour and impartiality, and shows the same careful observation of the events of the past year as have characterised its predecessors from the same hand. It is a handsomely printed pamphlet of nearly ninety pages, and even those who are most familiar with public events could hardly fail to find their memories refreshed by its perusal. We make a long extract, which treats of the movement which makes the past year as an era in the history of the political parties of this country.

THE FREE SOIL PARTY.

In the report which we had the honour to lay before you last year, speaking of the political signs of the times, and particularly in New York, we said "A Northern Party is unquestionably at hand. Like the sects of Jerusalem, the jarring parties at the North will yet unite and present a formidable front to the common enemy.—There is Anti Slavery spirit enough in the Free States to create a formidable, if not a predominant party. All that is needed is men of personal integrity and moral courage to take the lead. We think the emergency will soon arise, if it have not arisen already, to call them forth." The events of the past year have shown that, in thus speaking, we did not prophecy vain things. The occasion has offered itself, it was seized, and the nucleus of the great Northern Party yet to be, is gathered to a point.

The elements of political disaffection, the union of which grew into the Free Soil Party, had manifested themselves in various ways, and for a long time past.—Especially in New York, the bad faith that had been shown to her favourite son by the Convention that had nominated Mr. Polk, had prepared many of the Democratic party there for a display of resistance to the Power which has always ruled that party, whenever a fitting occasion should arise. Of this we spoke last year when describing the Conventions of Utica and Herkimer.—The nomination of General Cass, and the virtual exclusion of the Barnburner delegates, by the Baltimore Convention, caused the first hostile demonstration. This took a tangible shape at a Convention called at Utica in June, which denounced the nomination of Cass, and took firm and decided ground in favour of Free Territory. It also nominated Martin Van Buren for the Presidency. This Convention was composed of many of the most prominent Democrats of New York and struck no small consternation into the hearts of the Party throughout the country.

Immediately after the Philadelphia Convention the Whig discontents began to make themselves manifest.—A Convention of all dissentients from the two nominations was invited to meet at Buffalo in August. A Convention was called by the Conscience Whigs of Massachusetts, to meet at Worcester, on the 28th of June. Similar movements took place in other States.—The Convention at Worcester was one of the largest ever held in the State, and characterized by a resolute purpose and a strong enthusiasm. Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, who attended and gave added interest to it, subsequently spoke in Boston and other places with great effect. In August, the National Mass Convention met at Buffalo, and was one of the most remarkable political meetings on record. Vast multitudes from all parts of the Union, of all the political parties, came together and seemed to be melted into one by their zeal against the aggressions of Slavery. Though they looked only to the restraint of Slavery within the bounds which they, themselves, or their fathers for them, had erected for its protection, still the opposition sprang from a deep and strong Anti-Slavery sentiment. Though it was far from being the full harvest of the many years sowing of the Abolitionists it was the happy springing of the green blade and the forming ear, which can hardly fail to grow up unto a full fruition. The nomination of Martin Van Buren and of Charles Francis Adams was made with great unanimity and enthusiasm by a body made up of original elements of the most extreme contrariety.

The nomination of Mr. Van Buren afforded a convenient loop-hole for the escape of those Whigs who began to find their consciences heavier than they could bear in the heat and burden of the day to which they were called. We have no particular faith in the political honesty of those politicians who professed to be strongly impressed with the importance of the principles incarnated in Mr. Van Buren, who yet refused to support him on the ground of his former malfeasances, and gave their votes to Taylor or Cass as men to be preferred to him. In politics it will not do to inquire too curiously into the past history of men prominent enough to be a Presidential candidate. Bygones must be allowed to be bygones. A man's present position, his contemporary pledges, must be admitted for the purposes of political qualification. Men who are frightened from their political propriety by the spectre of Mr. Van Buren, are of too queasy a constitution to last long, even with the most industrious patching. They would soon have come to an untimely end, by some other distemper. The new party gained a loss in their demise. It is absurd for men willing to act under the Constitution, and to be true to its compromises, to object to the nomination of Mr. Van Buren, or Mr. Anybody else, to be their chief agent in maintaining them, who will consent to do it in the way they like the best. Mr. Van Buren answered the purpose of the party that nominated him, as well as anybody could.

Mr. Van Buren's Letter of Acceptance was a document that gave great satisfaction to the New Party, and with justice; for it was all that men limiting their movement to the Platform of the Buffalo Convention could ask.—It accepted that Platform in full—was explicit and emphatic on the subject of Slave-Extension—thought circumstances have so far changed as to justify him in approving an act for the Abolition of Slavery in the District, though he does not think it advisable—and adopted the views of the Convention as to Internal Improvements, Public Lands, and a Revenue Tariff. It made Mr. Van Buren out to be a very suitable candidate for the Conscience Whigs, the Barnburning Democrats, the Liberty Party, and for all, generally, who are content to keep Slavery where it is, and to fight it with their hands tied with the compromises woven by their fathers, and worn willingly by themselves.

But though Mr. Van Buren will do very well for the Movement Whigs, Democrats, and Third Party Men, he is far enough from coming up to the mark of the Abolitionists. His whole argument rests upon the interference of Slavery with Northern influence and rights, and the danger of its power being augmented and perpetuated by its extension over new territories. He has nothing to say, except slightly and inferentially, against Slavery itself. He is profoundly respectful to the Slave States and Slaveholders, and piously regardful of the Compromises of the Constitution. Now all this is what the New Party want. He and they should be all this. They contemplate remaining in a Slaveholding Union, and putting forth the united strength of the confederacy for the maintenance of Slavery within its appropriate sphere.—He justly represents the party in all this. He plainly states the grievance of all the non-Slaveholding States, as it lies in his mind: that they have been disappointed of the political supremacy, the expectation which induced them to assist "in investing the Slaveholding States with the priviliges and guarantees of the Constitution."—Which means, being interpreted, in engaging to let them import slaves for twenty years, to send back their captives, to put down their insurrections, and to give them three votes for every five slaves. And it is not the atrocity of the bargain that shocks Mr. Van Buren so much, but the being overreached in the consideration.

Mr. Van Buren is at great pains to exculpate the Wilmot Proviso from the imputation of being disrepectful to the Slaveholding States! He talks a deal of twaddle about "the true glory of the Confederacy," and of "the humiliation of a part tarnishing the glory of the whole." He thinks that the Northern people are so "national in their feelings," and cherish so "deep a solicitude for the honour and welfare of all its members," that if "they believed the success of this measure would draw after it such grave consequences, they would be among the last to uphold it!" Polite Mr. Van Buren! We always heard he was a well-bred gentleman, but he seems to be the very pink of courtesy and mirror of knighthood.—Lord Chesterfield was a boor to him! The glory of a Slaveholding Nation! The honour of woman-whipping and baby-stealing ruffians!

We think Mr. Van Buren is quite out in his inference that because the Slave States were in favour of the Ordinance of 1787, that it was from any predilection for freedom. It was because they were jealous of the competition of new States in their own departments of production, and because the prohibition of the Foreign trade had not given rise to the Great American System of the Protection of Domestic Manufacture of Men, that they were eager with their concurrence. Who believes these men would be thus unanimous now, were the work to do again? Equally strange appears to us his way of looking at passing events, if he were induced to declare his intention of vetoing an Act for Abolishing Slavery in the District by the apprehension of a servile war! If "the extent to which this subject was pressed" created such a danger then, surely, it must be ten times greater now. And yet, Mr. Van Buren will not veto a Bill now! A servile war! Three millions of unarmed, uneducated slaves, fighting against seventeen millions of intelligent enemies, armed to the teeth! Does Mr. Van Buren think there can be any fear, or any hope, of such a war as long as this Union endures?

But we have no purpose of criticising this letter. It speaks for itself. It is all that voters under the Constitution have a right to ask. Mr. Van Buren fitly represents the party of which he is the head. He will oppose the extension of Slavery over New States; but he will maintain its constitutional rights in the Old. He will still deliver up the fugitive slave to the tyrant out of whose hand he has escaped. If a Sable Revolution is on foot, he will crush it with the whole force of the nation. He will uphold the Oligarchy which rules over us, by maintaining their right to rule by virtue of their ownership in human flesh. All this he must do, if he be true to the Constitution he will swear to support. All this they who appoint him their minister by their ballots, empower and instruct him to do, by the terms of that Commission which they give him. Mr. Van Buren and his party leave the matter of Slavery where it was twenty years ago. They do not propose to meddle with its existence, provided it can live where it is. They only hope to curb its further progress. This is vastly better than nothing. It is a step in the right direction, over which we rejoice. But we cannot but see that it is but a very short and uncertain step. A step which might as well not have been taken, if it be not the precursor of another. And there is no other step to be taken within the Constitution. This touches its extremest bounds. The Abolitionists have transcended its limits. They refuse to be bound by it, and consequently to bind others by it. They stand outside of it, and demand a purer Constitution and a holier Union. All they have to do at this crisis, is, to stand firmly in their present advanced and impregnable position, and urge upon all genuine enemies of Slavery to come up and do battle by their side.

The nominations made and accepted, the Free Soil Party was instant, in season and out of season, in the promotion of its success. Its prominent members spared neither time nor talent in preaching its doctrine and recommending its practice. Mass meetings were held at all suitable points, and assemblies gathered in almost every village to hear the new word. The result was the rallying of a large minority, most respectable in point of character, as the germ of a new party. With the result its members have no reason to be dissatisfied. Its success was unprecedented, taking into consideration its brief existence and formidable foes. Its birth, too, was connected with the death of the Third Political Party, which merged itself into the New Party, with a joyful suicide. At Boston, at the time of the State Free Soil Convention, the "Liberty Party" formally dissolved itself. This was also done in New York, and we believe in most of the States where that Party had a recognized existence. Thus the impediment of the Anti-Slavery Movement is at last removed out of the way. It was a necessary concomitant of genuine Anti-Slavery, as counterfeit coin is sure to follow close on the heels of sterling money. A spurious Abolitionism sprung up in the presence of the true, as naturally and inevitably as the shade follows the substance. The Abolitionists had startled the selfish dreams of the State, and disturbed the fat slumbers of the Church. A new impulse was communicated to the mind of the country. The general attention was attracted to the wrongs of the slave and to the complicity of the politics, and yet more the religion, of the land in them. The ramifications of Slavery were found to reach farther than the clearest vision had discerned in the early days of the cause. It seemed as if the blows which were dealing to it must shake pulpits and affiliated theologies, as well as State-houses and parties. A way of escape had to be devised for those who, either through inadvertence or mistake, found themselves thundering at the gates of the Church. That way was discovered to lie through the gates of politics.

This way was an effectual one. It comfortably conducted the ministers, whose equanimity had been disturbed by the wholesale Ultraism of Anti-Slavery, back to the world; and there they found ready to join them, a company of the refuse politicians of the two old political parties. Every one that was in distress, and every one that was discontented, joined themselves unto them, and they became a party. Besides these, there was a proportion of honest men and sincere Abolitionists, who did verily believe that this was the best way of attacking Slavery. But the description of persons that gave tone to it were not such as could give confidence or respectability to any association which they led. As its origin was factious, its course has been devious. It had one set of principles for the East, and another for the West. Now it regarded the Constitution of the United States as an Anti-Slavery instrument; and, again, it recognized its Pro-Slavery character. At one time it professed to stand on the highest religious and moral ground; and anon it turned somerset into the arms of Hale or Van Buren,—very sensibly regarding availability as a much better thing in a candidate, than piety. But throughout its course, and in all its various phases, it has shown none but a malign aspect to the Anti-Slavery cause. Its influence, as far as it has gone, has been evil, only evil, and that continually. What apparent good it may have done, has been incidental and accidental. It has retarded, not hastened, the very state of political feeling which has now devoured it up. The Free Soil Party exists, not because, but in spite of it. We believe that an effectual political opposition to Slavery would have been embodied long since, had not the ground been cumbered with this preposterous faction.

But for a long time past the Third Party has shown signs of decrepitude and decay. The better portion of the party have grown tired of their disreputable leaders and their absurd position. We believe the respectable and honorable gentlemen who have joined themselves to it, have been somewhat impatient of the company in which they found themselves, and of the impracticable way in which they were set to work. It was obvious, small as the progress of the party had been, that it had seen its best days, and that henceforward its career would be backward. In this state of things, the Free Soil Party was a perfect God-send to it. Its members had an opportunity to obtain a respectable political *status*—to get into good company again—and they most eagerly embraced it. With the most earnest speed, with no coy reluctance, with scarcely a dissenting voice, they united themselves with the disaffected portions of the national parties at Buffalo. They are now in a position in which they can fairly help to try the experiment whether anything can be done, politically and partywise, under the Constitution, for the control or the extinction of Slavery. The high character and distinguished position of the leaders of the New Party, will throw those of the Old one into obscurity. They can never stamp their personality upon it as they did upon that which they owned themselves In subordinate posts of labour they may be employed, though with no good will; but their little brief importance is gone, and their names will be now forgotten, except in connection with former treachery and dishonesty towards the Slave's cause. The sooner the better for the prosperity of the Free Soil Movement.

The day of prophecy is passed; that of fulfilment is come. For long years the Abolitionists have been looking forward to a state of things which is now beginning to develope itself. They have always known that the effect of their labours would at last be seen in the disturbance of the political elements and the reconstruction of the political parties. They have seen and said, for long past, that there were no principles on which parties could divide, at this day, in this country, excepting Slavery and Anti-Slavery. In point of fact, for near thirty years there has been but *One* party,—the Slavery party,—which has governed the country through the factions springing from local or economical interests, into which the population of the country has, from time to time, divided itself. The better portion of those factions, who sincerely believed that vital principles were wrapped up in their organizations, were slow to believe that they were powerless for good,—mere "slavish officers of vengeance,"—devices having as little to do with the regulation of our superincumbent despotism, as the Green and Red Factions of the Byzantine circus with that of the later emperors. But their eyes have been torn open by the insane fury of the tyrants themselves. They now begin to discern in how vain a show it is they have so long been walking. And they are bestirring themselves to do what they may towards undoing the work of former years.

It is not too much to claim these results as largely owing to the labours of the Abolitionists of near twenty years. For nearly a score of years have they been preaching the Gospel of the Wrongs of the Black Man and the guilt of the White Man. They have shown how the machinery of the State and the Church has been prostituted for the comfort and encouragement of the Master, and for the crushing and despair of the Slave. How political and ecclesiastical jugglers have endeavoured, and with what fearful success, to sear the consciences, to deaden the sensibilities, to confuse the moral sense, to perplex the intellectual perceptions of the American people. How the National Government has ever been, and must ever be, in its present shape, a grand Conspiracy against Freedom and Humanity. How there is no innocence for the individual, except in refusing to use political power when it must needs be directed for the sustenation of Slavery, and no Redemption for the Slave, and no Regeneration for the Free, except in a Revolution which will utterly separate Slavery from Freedom. These truths they have enunciated and enforced as they successively arrived at them. At every successive step they have been resisted and reviled, and men and presses of all complexions of politics, and of every shade of religious discrepance have united in casting out their name and their doctrine as evil.

But the bread which they had thus cast upon the waters is returning to them, after many days. The protest which they have kept alive against the National Crime, the continual claim which they have maintained for the rights of the Slave, the Truth which, line upon line and precept upon precept, they have reiterated in men's ears, whether they would hear or whether they would forbear, have not been uttered in vain. A public sentiment has been, slowly and with difficulty, created by the operation of Anti-Slavery papers, meetings and lectures, which reaches many who know not whence the influences which they feel went forth, and which is now beginning to be seen in Congress, in State legislatures, and above all, in the disorganization which is at work in the old political parties. These are things to make the hearts of Abolitionists rejoice. It is not the end, but it is the beginning of the end. It is not the harvest, white for the sickle, but it is the bursting forth of the green blade in which the prophetic eye of Faith sees fore-shadowed the full triumph of the Harvest-home. It is a state of things which makes no difference in our position or in our duties, though it is full of fresh encouragement and new hope.

It makes no difference in our position or duties, because the new movements, onward and hopeful as they may be, are yet far beneath the level of the Anti-Slavery platform. Our business is to marshal them in the way that they should go,—to lead them up to yet loftier heights,—and not to fall back upon their imperfect point of progress. We hail their honourable rebellion with joy, and we hold ourselves ready to do whatever we may, consistently with our higher duties, to cheer and help them. But we may not acknowledge them as leading the van of the movement against Slavery,—for they not only do not occupy, but they do not claim, such a position. It is a joyful sight to see honourable and influential men trampling upon their old party banners, and falling into line with their former antagonists, in order to present a more formidable front to a common enemy,—the common enemy of the human race. But it is, after all, only cutting off the outposts, and preventing the occupation of new country by the enemy, that these new allies propose to themselves. Useful as this service must be, if honestly attempted, whether successful or not, it can be regarded only as very secondary and subordinate to their own office by those who have sworn eternal hatred to the Adversary, and whose war-cry is, "*Delenda est!*"—Slavery must be extirpated, let what will perish with it!

The scope of the New Party is not a wide one. It does not propose to itself any very radical Anti-Slavery action. It is only indirectly and by implication an Anti-Slavery party, at all. It touches the system of Slavery only by opposing itself to its growth in certain directions. If it carry its point, Slavery will still exist and flourish. It is a hopeful movement rather with regard to the hopeless character of the parties from which its constituent elements have separated themselves, than to the broad views and high objects of the party itself. It is as a sign of discontent with things political as they exist, and of a reaching after something better, that it is to be accepted by Abolitionists as an augury of good. If it stop where it is, and make no forward movement hereafter, it would be better for it and its members if it had never been born. This is, doubtless, the natural process of Revolutionary ideas and movements. They proceed from the lower to the higher; from the imperfect perception to the full comprehension of the Truth. We say Revolutionary ideas and movements, because all such as look to the removal of Slavery from this country, are, of their own nature and necessary tendency, Revolutionary. They strike at an essential element—at the governing element—of our Institutions. As truly revolutionary as ideas and movements contemplating the extinction of the hereditary or monarchial principle in the polity of England. Not necessarily revolutions achieved on Marston Moors and Bunker's Hills; but not the less revolutionary because won on fields where public opinion speaks with a different but no less authoritative utterance. That this is understood by the Slaveholders, keenly observant and sensitive like all aristocrats, is shown by their renewed threats of disunion in view of the present aspect of affairs at the North.

The Free Soil party, however, is not in its nature and avowed purposes, a revolutionary party. For it does not aim at the life, but only at the growth, of Slavery. Its name rightly describes it. It is a party for keeping *Soil* free, and not for setting *Men* free. Now Freedom of Soil is a phrase of no meaning, except in as far as it implies that of Men. Soil cannot be enslaved. It is as impatient of chains and whips as the sea or the air. Calhoun may be mad as Xerxes when

"The waves he lashes and enchains the wind."

but he can never make the boon Earth his bond-slave. If the slaves of the United States are to be kept slaves forever by the power of the United States, it is of no particular consequence whether they be kept within the now acknowledged domain of Slavery, or scattered from the Potomac to Cape Horn. It is not the diameter of the circle which is to be described around the fiend that is of so much importance. It is the potent exorcism which is to bind him and send him howling back to his own place, that we should seek to discover and employ. It is the Institution of Slavery that is the curse of the land and the disgrace of human nature, and not its permission in this or that portion of the country. As soon as the Free Soil party becomes the direct antagonist of Slavery proper, it necessarily becomes revolutionary in its nature. For no political attack can be made upon it, in good faith, or with any effect, "within Constitutional limits," and by "Constitutional means."

Supposing the Free Soil party triumphant, and all that it professes to do accomplished, what would be it relation to Slavery where it now exists? Slavery would still be guaranteed to the Slaveholding States; the masters would still vote for three out of five of their slaves, as if their own political existence was multiplied in that ratio by this sort of ownership; if a Slave escaped into a Free State, the master would still have the right of pursuit and recapture; and in case of servile revolution, the military arm of the nation, and, if necessary, the whole force of the Free States, would be put forth to crush it. All these things Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Adams will swear to do when they take their oaths to support the Constitution, and these things all those who, by voting for them under the Constitution, shall elevate them to office, empower and instruct them to do in their behalf and as their ministers. As far, then, as Slavery is concerned within its present limits, and as it now exists, the Free Soil party is as much committed to its maintenance, if it obtain power, as the Whig or Democratic party, and Mr. Van Buren will answer the purpose of Slavery quite as well as General Taylor or General Cass, if he be true to the oath he must take as preliminary to the office. The Abolitionists, therefore, properly and distinctively so called, whose business is the extinction of Slavery wherever it exists in the nation, and who perceive that it can never be destroyed by supporting and defending it, either in their own persons or by their political servants, appointed at the polls, can obviously have nothing to do with this movement except to point out its short-comings, and invite it to advance to a higher and more practicable point of attack. As long as it intends to be true to the Compromises of the Constitution, (as it must do, or be beswor n,) it is a *Pro-Slavery* party as truly as either of the three others—because it will give Slavery the countenance and support of the whole nation, just as they would do, in its place.

The New Party is not the party that is to abolish Slavery by withdrawing from it the support of Northern bayonets and pulpits, of the physical force and the public sentiment of the Free States; but it will prepare the way for its advent. It is not the Deliverer, but it is the Messenger that goeth before his face. It is shorn of half its strength by its attempt to be a National, instead of a Sectional Party. To be effective, it must be distinctively a Sectional party. It must renounce forever the allurements of that Delilah of Union, which has so often cheated the strong man of the North of his strength, and delivered him, bound, to the Philistines. The party, yet to be, which is to do this work, will be technically a Northern, or Free State Party. Its object will be, by the action of the Free States alone, outside of the Constitution, to free themselves, and the slaves, from their guilty support of the system of Slavery, while acting under the Constitution. This party will agitate within the Free States for the formation of a new Confederation of States, that shall have no part nor lot in the support of Slavery, and shall be free from its despotic sway. It will go for a new Constitution, for a Union of freemen, free from the insidious element of tyranny, disguised in Compromise. Its object will be the foundation and edifying of a true Republic, where the people will choose their own magistrates, and make their own laws, and not merely register the edicts of a ruthless aristocracy, deriving its heriditary and prescriptive privileges from ownership in human beings.

This will be a moment which can be carried on in good faith and aboveboard, and one in which all can unite, who hate Slavery for the blacks and subserviency for themselves. We believe great multitudes are ready for this movement now, as soon as it takes a political shape. We are sure that the experience of the Free Soil party will show multitudes more, that this is their only hope for a National existence and Government, consistent with self respect and their own rights. It is, too, the only hope for the slave and the free white population of the Slave States. It is sometimes said that the North should remain in the Union for the sake of these classes. The North can do nothing for the slave or the free white of the South, as long as it remains in its present conspiracy with the slave-master against them both. All that either, if intelligent, should ask, would be, "let us alone! Take your feet off our necks, and your muskets from our breasts, and leave the slaveholder to us!" The abolition of Slavery would probably anticipate such a consummation, to prevent it. But if not, we may safely leave the quarter of a million slaveholders to the three million slaves and seven million non-slaveholding whites. As soon as the fear of the Northern minute-men shall be removed, as soon as the weight of the Nation shall be taken away from the oppressed classes of the South, they may be left to work out their own deliverance. Within a month from the Dissolution, unless prevented by Emancipation, the Barricades will go up in New Orleans and Charleston, and the superincumbent tyranny will go down in blood. And would such a catastrophe be worse, horrible as it might be, than the daily horrors which are due to the postponement of it by the interposition of all the People as a Nation?

As it is the manifest duty, so it is the obvious policy, of the Abolitionists to maintain their present position, unless they discern one in advance of it. Their business is to use all parties and all sects in their unselfish work of abolishing Slavery, but to be used by none. Their steadfast and uncompromising adherence to their highest Anti-Slavery Ides, has brought up the public mind to its present point of progress. By the same fidelity only is it to be carried on to a yet higher stage of advancement. It would be absurd, as it would be fatal, for them to recede a step in the vain expectation of a speedier obvious result. The greatest possible expediency is a rigid adherence to the highest absolute right. So we hold that we shall best promote the Anti-Slavery Movement, in its every shape and modification, by being true to ourselves, by a strenuous maintainance of our Non-juring Disunionism, and by a faithful upholding of the cardinal principle of the American Anti-Slavery Society—"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!"

CONGRESS.—MEXICAN TREATY.—Congress, since our last, has done nothing worthy of note except to throw out the bill abolishing the spirit ration from the navy. The regulation, however, had it passed, would have extended only to the forecastle. It was only Jack who was to lose his grog.

Both the Senate and House have been thrown into a fever—more especially the Whigs—by the discovery of a supposed addition to the Mexican Treaty, and, for a day or two, till the real state of the case was made manifest the Whig papers almost persuaded their readers that the Mexican War would have to be gone over again, Mr. Polk impeached, and the present administration thrown

Goose Creek, before things would begin to be right again, and the purity of our Government asserted and maintained. Mr. olk, however, has sent a message to Congress, by which it appears that the famous Protocol was nothing more than an explanation of certain articles, rejected by the United States Senate, the most important of which related to land claims in Texas, and Church property in Mexico. After explaining each section of the Protocol, Mr. Polk concludes his message by saying:

With this view of the whole Protocol, and considering that the explanations which it contained were in accordance with the Treaty, I did not deem it necessary to take any action upon the subject. Had it varied from the terms of the Treaty as amended by the Senate, although even then it would have been a nullity

The Disunion Question in the New Jersey Legislature.

"Gentlemen," said the speaker of a political meeting in Tammany Hall, where the sovereign people were, as usual at that place and on such occasions, amusing themselves with individual fights and rows generally—"Gentlemen, I beg you to come to order, and allow our distinguished friend, from the sister State of New Jersey, who has the floor" —— "New Jersey! *Jarsey!* where the —— is that?" shouted one of the aforesaid sovereigns, who believed in "free meetin's." "That are'nt in the United States!" New Jersey however considers herself as a part, and no small one evidently, of the Union, as witness the following debate in her Legislature, the report of which we cut from the *Newark Daily Mercury*. Mr. Campbell, the petitioner, is a citizen of Trenton, and has the honour of being the first, we believe, of bringing the question of Disunion before the Assembled Wisdom of his State.

A petition was presented in the House of Assembly by Mr. Dill, from A. Gibbs Campbell, requesting that measures may be taken for a peaceful secession of this State from the Union:

1. Because a portion of citizens, on account of the colour of their skin, are not permitted to visit Southern States, under penalty of fine, &c. in contempt of sovereignty, and disregard of the Constitution of the United States, which declares citizens of each State entitled to privileges of citizens of the several State.

2 Because lives of citizens are put in peril in the South, for exercising liberty of speech or press, in opposition to Slavery.

3. Because it is degrading, disastrous, and a paradox, for a State glorying in Freedom, to continue in partnership with those glorying in Slavery.

4. Because by this alliance with the South, they have been enabled to acquire large territories, and now want Cuba.

5. Because by *compromises &c.* slave representation is allowed, and the aid of State to hunt and seize fugitive slaves, and to crush slave rebellion guaranteed, and so long as this is the case, this State is responsible for the evil of Slavery.

Mr. Ryerson moved the petition be not received.

Mr. Nixon asked if it was respectful.

Mr. Ryerson said it asked a severance of this State from the Union.

Mr. Redmond was surprised at the motion of the member from Sussex. It was in fact, denying the right to memorialize this House. There is nothing disrespectful in the petition; it is in courteous language. It is true, it contains peculiarities of opinion, but the petitioner has the right of expressing his opinion, and I cannot see that it is proper not to receive it.

Mr. Nixon said no one would go farther than himself in disapprobation of the object of the memorial. Sir, it breathes treason; but as long as it is in respectful language, I hope something will be done to show our disapprobation of its object. By agreeing to the present motion, we will be infringing the right of petition.

Mr. Ryerson said when we met, we took an oath to support the Constitution, and I have not given a vote, nor shall in violation of that oath. By this petition we are asked to do an act, which, by our oaths, we cannot do. We should not, therefore, receive such a petition.

Mr. Redmond replied, that his argument was based upon the same ground that the right of petition was denied in Congress. It was generally admitted that Congress had no right to abolish Slavery, yet they received petitions, and laid them on the table. Receiving this does not commit this House to the views of the petitioners.

Motion not to receive agreed to—26 to 18.

☞ The closing article of the review of the Memoir of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, which was crowded out last week, we are obliged to omit again in this number, for want of room. We shall as briefly as possible close the review in the next *Standard*. Any subject continued in a series of articles, we know, is apt to become tedious, but in those upon Mr. Buxton we have been so liberal of extracts from the volume, that we can not be accused of self-laudation when we declare that they contain a great deal that is not only interesting but, we are positively certain, entirely new, to nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of our readers, as to the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause in Great Britain. Nevertheless so painfully conscious are we that newspaper readers soon get tired of a subject continued from week to week, that we should not have undertaken this, notwithstanding we have crowded the articles with information which every Abolitionists ought, and should be glad to have, had we supposed it would have led us to the length it has. We were tempted to cut off in the middle, but thanks from some of our readers for the articles prompted us to persevere; and if anybody is really tired of them—of which we have no other assurance than our own fears—they will thank us for the announcement that there is but "one more left."

Hon. John A. Dix will accept our thanks for a copy of his valuable speech, in the Senate, on the 23d ultimo, in favour of Reciprocal Trade with Canada.

Our thanks are also due to Hon. John P. Hale for a copy of the Minority Report of the Committee of the Judiciary on the Bill for the admission of California into the Union as a State.

For a copy of the Patent Office Report, of last year, a work which is an honour to the Department issuing it, we are indebted to Hon. Wm. Duer.

Anti-Slavery Sale.—The French boxes which did not arrive in season for the Faneuil Hall Bazaar, will be offered for sale at the room No. 294½ Washington street, Boston, (up stairs,) on the morning of Tuesday, the 20th inst. The sale will close on the Friday evening of that week.

Notes on New Books.

An Investigation into the affairs of the Delaware and Raritan Canal and Camden and Amboy Railroad Companies, in reference to certain charges by a "Citizen of Burlington." *Newark, N. J. Printed at the Advertiser office.*

We have observed in the *Burlington Gazette*, for some months past, a series of articles, containing various heavy charges, set forth with a long array of figur , again st the Companies named in the title to this pamphlet issued in reply to them. They were of consequence enough, and attracted enough of public attention, to call for some notice from the directors of these Companies, and accordingly Mr. James G. King, of this city, and Messrs. Wm. Pennington, and Charles Parker, of New Jersey, were requested to make an investigation, and a pamphlet of 99 pages is the result. It is evidently drawn up with great care and utility, but whether it be a satisfactory refutation of the allegations of Mr. Carey—the "citizen of Burlington"—we do not profess to be sufficiently acquainted with the subject even to form an opinion. We notice the pamphlet that those of our readers in New Jersey who are interested in the matter may know that it is in existence, and where it may be had.

Rhymes of Travel, Ballads and Poems. By Bayard Taylor. *New York: George P. Putnam.*

Mr. Taylor has already become more favourably known to the reading public, than often falls to the fortune of one so young, by his volumes of travel entitled "Views a-foot," and by many fugitive poems which have appeared in various newspapers and periodicals. Of these latter the volume before us is in part a re-publication, and consists in part of others which have never before appeared in print, and some which have been published but were not known as from Mr. Taylor's pen.

This is not, however, his first volume of poems, nor was the "Views a-foot" his first publication. Before Mr. Taylor went to Europe, when he was hardly more than a lad, and working at the *case* as a journeyman printer in a country office in Pennsylvania, he published a small and unpretending volume of poems, which, though not widely known, was the foundation of his fame and the promise of better things to come. It attracted the attention of more than one discriminating critic, from whom the young poet received that praise, without which, indeed, an ambition for better things might have grown and made its own way, but which, nevertheless, doubtless nourished and encouraged it for a bolder flight. From the few friends w hich he thus gained he received just aid enough to place him in a favourable position to achieve for himself a popularity by his book of travels. And as this followed that, so the present volume comes in a manner as a sort of sequel to "Views Afoot." Many of these poems were written while abroad,—all those, we take it, in the first division under the general head of Rhymes of Travel; and others, perhaps, from the stores of memory laid away as treasure for future use during the same period. They are all marked by a purity and sweetness of tone, and a delicacy of sentiment which seem to be among Mr. Taylor's chief characteristics.

The most attractive portion of the book, however, at this moment, will be probably the Picturesque Ballads of California. These spirited poems first appeared anonymously in the *Literary World*, and attracted a good deal of attention. The author himself considers it no slight compliment that they were attributed to Mr. Hoffman, and have been published under his name, and if our memory does not cheat us, we have also heard them ascribed to Whittier. They have a dash of boldness and adventure in them which contrasts pleasantly with the more purely sentimental poems of the other parts of the volume.

The book is illustrated with an excellent portrait, and fine engraving, of the author in an Alpine dress, and is printed in a style which does great credit to its publisher.

The Vision of Sir Launfal: By James Russell Lowell. New York: *George P. Putnam*. We are indebted to the publisher for a copy of this elegant little book, which we noticed at length some weeks since.

Domestic Correspondence.

Vernon, N. Y. Feb. 4, 1849.

Dear Gay.—I have been out to the Liberty Convention holden at Utica. A Mr. White was President, and Gerrit Smith Chairman of Committee on Resolutions. I arrived at Temperance Hall, on Wednesday afternoon, and found the meeting in session, and a Mr. Payne illuminating the assembly on Civil Government as a science.—Soon after, a Brother Barr, of your city, was called out, and spoke briefly on Land Monopoly. He gave way to the Committee on Business, which now reported some dozen resolutions. As the Liberty Party *redivivus* is to labour in future in enforcing these principles, it will be proper to favour you with a sketch.

The first resolution affirmed the principles of Democracy, admitting to all, irrespective of sex, colour, or character, the right to select civil rulers. This was opposed by Mr. Green, on the ground that none but the righteous ought to have a voice. How this class was to be selected, he did not inform us. It reminded me very much of the mirror which would become clouded when a woman, not a virgin, passed before it. The fair sex shunned it universally. I guess that righteous people would be scarce at the polls. This resolution, though sustained by Messrs. Smith, Payne, and some others was voted down. So the ladies get no favours from this Green party.

In the next resolution it was insisted that right Civil Governments must be *Christian*; not however, the spurious Christianity, which endorses War, Slavery, &c. The succeeding resolutions frowned on all missionary associations, because they sanctioned the *diabolical conspiracies* which usurped the name of Civil Government. The traffic in spirituous liquors received an anathema. Resolution 5, was rather a close one. "It may be better to submit to a Revolution than to a Government which compels us to pay the debts of ancestors." The reason urged was, that while Government is allowed to draw on posterity to pay war expenses, we cannot hope that there will not be wars. The remaining resolutions were written in a peculiarly crooked Peterboro hand—for which I think myself a fair rival to Champollion for deeyphering it. Resolution 7, declared the Federal Constitution authorised the abolition of Slavery everywhere under its jurisdiction. As I demurred at this, Mr. Smith insisted that the fair and correct interpretation of that instrument must be its plainest sense; which was decidedly Anti-Slavery; and referred me to the assertion of the 8th resolution, that as Law was for the *protection* and not for the *destruction* of rights, no enactment, whether by Statute, Constitution, or Superior Court decisions, was capable of *legalization* unless right in itself. A new way of re-solving an old difficulty! If Moral Power were the active principle in Government all this might be well. But so long as the idea that "*might makes right*" is the cardinal one—and Mr. Smith confessed that he was not, in certain cases, decidedly opposed to bloody revolutions—I do not see how the fact can be avoided that the brute force of the majority will, as heretofore, *legalize* many enactments subversive of individual rights. If Gerrit Smith, or S. W. Green, or any one else can escape this dilemma, one would be happy to be instructed.

The 9th resolution declared that Land Monopoly is to be warred against, not only because it is the most wide spread of all oppressions, but because it is preeminently fruitful of other forms of oppression. The 10th, was a dead set against Sectarianism this being the evil peculiarly odious to Mr. Smith. King Sect meets from him a deserved censure. It is the Satan which wars against all human improvement, and is, indeed, like that worthy of Miltonic fable, "an archangel ruined." But the resolution declared that not only were the members of a Pro-Slavery church inactive on the subject of Slavery—but also the members of Sectarian churches, as they lay humanity on the altar of sect. The last resolution adopted the Model Worker as their organ and urged special means to sustain its publication.

Whether this party *redivivus* will ever make a figure in politics is very doubtful. It is too radical. Yet Land Reform may impel it forward into a very respectable notoriety. Some Free Soil Party men may seize on its most important doctrines, and grasp the office spoils. Otherwise it must, like the American Anti-Slavery Society—consent to war for principles, irrespective of numbers.

The debates in the Convention were lively. President Green came out in opposition to the Democracy of the first resolution. Mr. Smith called his idea extravagant. He spoke very energetically. Indeed, his was the master mind. "I loathe vulgar Democracy, said he. "I repudiate the doctrine of instructions." Green insisted that God sent our rulers into the world, and we ought to recognize their authority. He afterward explained that several might be qualified for offices. "The man is not helped" replied Mr. Smith. He believed that God had qualified more than one for these functions. Green's notion was the institution of a species of tyranny. Neither Testament directed us how to choose rulers. Were the voters ignorant? Rejoice; you can instruct them.—Voting is a natural right. Green replied, "no right is unnatural." Smith continued. Man cannot merge himself into a hog, a fox, or any animal. Whether righteous or wicked he was as much under obligation to vote as to pray. Rev. Mr. Hough—for there were many Reverends there, unordained I surmise by the ecclesiastical powers that be—spoke in opposition to Mr. Smith. He asked why do you exclude minors in your resolution? "And why" retorted Mr. S. "would you exclude *righteous* minors?" He appealed to the right of resorting to bloody revolutions if need were, to overset unrighteous Governments. "I understand," was replied, "Mr. Smith would allow all to vote, but would not bind himself to respect the result."

The evening session was taken up by Pres. Greene, Messrs. Smith, Pyne, and others. On Thursday morning I again attended. Mr. Barr opened by opposing the sentiment of civil rules. "I would not have rulers at all. I voted for Gerrit Smith, but would pull him down if he aspired to be my tyrant. Servants who will do our will and obey our instructions are what we want. It is useless to hope to abolish Slavery till Land monopoly is overthrown. A man will be a bondman—whether called a slave or freeman—if forced to toil for another." The discussion was very interesting. Another urged that he clergy were comparatively innocent in the general corruption; they who sat in the front pew would not let a preacher speak for reform. Reform the church and you reform the clergy. "The front pews," said Mr. Smith. The speaker continued: He depreeated bloody revolutions; and spoke for Land reform. As well retail air by the breath, or sunbeams at so much apiece, as to make merchandise of that soil which God gave to all.—Mr. Smith, Stowe, Barr, and others, were next.

At length Rev. C. P. Grosvenor, of the Baptist Free Mission Society, protested that this association should not be frowned upon as Pro-Slavery. He was not sectarian and could commune with any Brother who had been baptised in profession of faith. It was replied that the Assistant Treasurer of that Society was proprietor in part of three rum taverns, in one of which a man was murdered; the price of his blood passed into that Free Mission Brother's pocket, and thence either into the Mission Fund or to the support of Elder Grosvenor, himself. The Elder and most of his Society too were Van Buren men. Rev. Mr. Ward, of Courtland, arose and held a confab with the Elder. He urged that he himself belonged to the American Mission Society, which was corrupt; and that Mr. G.s Society was just as bad. One Brother, as the Elder retired, sought to make favour for the Mission Society, though admitting that the Elder and the Christian Contributor had gone over to Van Buren; but he did not meet with much success. The whole missionary scheme was discarded.

There being quite a free air in the assembly, your honoured correspondent requested and obtained the liberty of the floor. He spoke for freer institutions adapted for the people's wants—and not the moulding of the people to fit the shape of the institutions. "There is a Missionary institution which the resolution censures not. Men relying on Jehovah, go forth to preach his gospel in the broad field of humanity, without reliance or approval of Mission Boards." This sentiment was well received.

I had thought to extract a sketch of the further proceedings from some county paper, but remembering that you receive the Model Worker, concluded not to delay, as you might obtain needful information from that source.

We are soon to have a public discussion come off here on the question of Capital Punishment. Rev. Mr. Brainard, and Rev. E. L. Brown, for the gallows; Messrs. B. B. Jostin, and A. Wilder, opposed. Reforms generally find rather a cool reception. Mr. Barr will probably agitate on Land Reform; but we are almostreprobate. PHI.

The following article was prepared for the *Sun*, and tendered to that paper by the writer, but declined, it was alleged, on account of its length. A second and much briefer article was then written, embodying some of the more important facts, and sent to the *Sun*, but that has been quietly rejected without an apology. It is enough, however, to remember that the *Sun* is an Old Hunker newspaper.

The Bermudas—The Abolition of Slavery—Its Effects.

To the Publishers of the Sun:

Gentlemen.—In your paper of June the 22, a correspondent who calls himself a native of one of the Bermuda Islands, with other "interesting data" treats your readers to the following statements:

"Being completely isolated from the West India group, these islands can in no sense be regarded as a portion of them. The abolition of Slavery has had a crushing effect on the prosperity of the Bermudas. The negroes will not work at any price, and as their wants are few, they manage to subsist by either pilfering, or the least possible exertion. Several attempts have been mad to introduce white labourers as agriculturists, but being subject to so many degrading influences, they usually leave for our own happy shores after a few months stay."

* * * * *

"During the months of March and April, a number of whales are caught off the island, and then indeed occurs the negroes' feast—and to some extent the whites,' also. As soon as the telegraph station announces a whale has been taken, the negroes immediately arm themselves with long knives, and tubs, and off they put for the scene of action, where there is a perfect rush on the animal, and he is soon demolished—the flesh of the whale—especially the young one—being esteemed by the Bermudians as equal to beef. Some years ago, and to some extent now, portions of the Island were occupied by a description of people similar to our Barnegat pirates, and woe betided the unlucky vessel stranded on the rocks, for everything stealable was always appropriated. Large numbers of American vessels are annually lost there, the island being surrounded with coral reefs, extending several miles around it, which constitute a perfect barrier to any hostile approach."

You are aware sirs, that the Colonial Legislature of Bermuda, at its first session immediately after the passage of the Bill abolishing Slavery in the W. I. by the British Parliament passed a Resolve to forego the supposed advantages of the Apprenticeship system, and to give immediate and unconditional freedom to the enslaved. But as a matter of course, the landed estates remained in the hands of the original proprietors. The evils introduced by the existence of Slavery still remained, one of which was that of "leaving lands undivided amongst families" in regard to which, Governor Reid in his speech before the Colonial Parliament in 1843 remarks: "this I take to be one of the reasons why so large a portion of the land of Bermuda is lying waste." So great was the extent of this evil that the Governor states in 1844, that, "By the last returns, their appears to be little more than the tenth part of an acre for each inhabitant, under cultivation." In addition to this evil, some of the proprietors refused to hire out their lands "for periods of sufficient length" for purposes of cultivation. Those proprietors who hired the freemen as labourers, paid them in goods instead of money. Of course the result was inevitable. Governor Reid in speaking of the matter, says, "I am persuaded that the system of paying services in goods has retarded improvement, and that wages for services of all kinds should be paid in money."

Notwithstanding the fact that immediate emancipation was conceded by the Assembly in the face of awful predictions by the enemies of Freedom; knowing, too, the drawbacks above stated, the undersigned, nevertheless, felt and knew that portions, the most material portions of the statements furnished by your correspondent, lacked the essential element of truth; and believing that should an investigation of the matter prove the incorrectness of *his* conclusions, that you would readily lay before your readers the evidence of it, took upon himself the responsibility of enclosing the article in a note to Mr. Augustus H. Swan, of Hamilton, Bermuda, requesting that he would furnish from official documents or other reliable sources such information as would cover the points involved. In reply, I have received a number of documents, the perusal of which furnish conclusive evidence that the *statement* you have published not only does injustice to all classes of the ten or eleven thousand people of the Bermudas, but is a gross libel upon the coloured population, and an imposition upon your readers which, with the facts before you, I do not believe you will tolerate.

Your correspondent says, that, "The abolition of Slavery has had a crushing effect on the prosperity of the Bermudas," and as a proof of the verity of his assertion, declares that "the negroes will not work at any price, and as their wants are few, they manage to subsist by either pilfering or the least possible exertion."

I take the liberty to deny the truthfulness of the statement of your correspondent, and I do so on the testimony of the most reliable witnesses. Their testimony relates to the industry, moral character, and educational advancement of the people. The commercial relations of the Bermudas is an item of some importance, and in regard to that we have the testimony of the Hon. Wm. B. Smith, Receiver General, &c. who has held the office for more than twenty years. It covers a period of six years, three years immediately before the passage of the emancipation act, and three years ending 1847; and states the value of imports and exports for that period. He says that "the average amount of imports for 1831—'2—and '3, the three years immediately preceding emancipation was £85,550 value. Average amount of imports for the last three years 1845—'6, and '7; £137,732 value. Showing an excess of imports for 1845—6—7; of £52,182. Amount of exports ending 1833, £24,554 value. Amount of exports for three years ending 1847, £20,996 value. Excess of exports ending 1833, £3,558 value.

This diminution of the value of exports for three years ending in 1847 is produced mainly by three causes: 1st. Because there has been a large increase of the productions of the soil, (as will be proved in another place) thus reducing the value of the articles produced, and duties being charged according to valuation; 2d. Because of greatly increased domestic consumption by the labouring classes; and 3d, Because vast amounts of these productions were purchased by the Government for the maintenance of increased foreign prisoners and soldiers at the 'dock yards' and confined in 'hulks.

The bulk or quantities of exports have certainly increased; but in consequence of the great plenty of exportable productions, the value has somewhat decreased.

If due allowances are made for the above causes, and credit be given for increased quantity exported, we shall be fully prepared for the answer to a direct question put to the Hon. Receiver General, viz:

Is it your opinion that the emancipation has in any way impeded the progress of Bermuda?'

A.—'Certainly not.'

Again. the Hon. B. Smith* is asked:

'Have the coloured population advanced or retrograded since emancipation?'

A.—'Incontrovertable evidence may easily be obtained to prove that the coloured population have greatly improved since the abolition of Slavery, and although great sacrifices were made at the time, I am sure that not one of the Slave-owners have regretted the change.'

Perhaps your correspondent was not acquainted with the Hon. Wm. B. Smith, or if he was, it is evident, that he could not have consulted him in making his extraordinary statement.

The opposition to a clearance of the lands manifested by a large number of proprietors has abated to some extent, and thus avenues to increased industry have been opened.

Your correspondent says, however, that the people 'will not work at any price.' But what says Governor Elliot in his address at the opening of the Colonial Parliament, May 15th, 1848 After speaking of the intercourse by steam with the mother country, the North American continent and the West Indies, and the consequent new markets open to the productions of the soil, he says: 'Connected with these considerations I remark with particular satisfaction the increasing clearance of the land and the observable improvement in the industry of all classes of the people.' It will be remarked here that the Governor says '*all* classes of the people,' and it will be remembered, too, that the coloured people form more than one half of the entire population.

'The negroes will not work,' says your correspondent. Governor Reed in his speech closing the Legislature session in May, 1844, declares that, 'The increasing activity and industry here are very satisfactory.' A flat contradiction to the statement of your correspondent.

Arrow-root, the staple production of the Bermudas, is of course raised by the coloured people. for your correspondent tells us that 'several attempts have been made to introduce white labourers as agriculturists'... but that 'they usually leave for our own happy shores after a few months stay.' If they 'will not work,' this staple must have fallen off. But what says Governor Reid in his speech before the Legislative Session in May 1844. 'I find from recent returns of exports, that the production of Arrow-root, the staple of the Islands, has been more than doubled in the last five years, whilst many other productions have been equally augmented.'

A reference to the statistical return made to the Colonial Parliament in 1843, will enable us to determine more fully the industrial habits of the people. From that it appears, that the whole number of seamen were 358 about three fourths of whom were coloured.

Carpenters,	224,	nearly all coloured
Caulkers,	4,	all coloured
Masons,	100,	three white
Smiths,	16,	four coloured
Cabinet Makers,†	22,	eight coloured. 1848, 11 coloured.
Tailors,	29,	five coloured.
Bakers,	15,	six coloured. 1848, 10 coloured.
Sail Makers,*	4,	three coloured.
Branch pilots,†	22,	four white.
Fishermen,	23,	about one half coloured.
Domestic Servants	891,	about three fourths coloured
Labourers,	926,	about two thirds coloured
Rowing Boats,	368,	
Sailing Boats,	119,	Nearly all the boatmen are col.—About one half Row boats, and about one third Sail boats owned by coloured men.
Vessels,	58,	all owned by whites. 1848, 52 ves.

'The whites who are engaged in none of the above handicrafts, either fill civil offices, are small grocers, or are more extensively engaged in mercantile pursuits; few are agriculturists.'

'Coloured people engaged in none of the above are either grocers, agriculturists, Cabmen or Draymen. Few fill civil offices or are Teachers."

From official sources it is shown that the value of exports for 1848 in Arrow root was £6760; Potatoes £2428; Onions £2726. 'Straw work is done almost entirely by white women.' This branch of industry has fallen off very greatly, and is occasioned, among other causes by large importations of foreign straw.'

It will be seen, that whilst the importations have greatly increased in amount and value, and whilst the *bulk* of exports have increased; the imports from £85,550 value in 1838 to £137,732 in 1846, the number of vessels employed in trade owned by *native* merchants have *decreased*, from 58 to 52, which is a manifest proof, that so great was the impetus given to commerce by the fact of the abolition of Slavery, that foreign merchants have availed themselves of its advantages, and far outstripped them in enterprise in furnishing such supplies as were needed, and in carrying away the productions of the soil.

So much for the industrial relations of the people of the Bermudas. The various occupations in which the people are engaged, as shown from official sources, would seem to prove that 'all classes' work.

But your correspondent says that 'as their wants are few '(meaning the wants of the coloured people) 'they manage to subsist by either pilfering or the least possible exertion.' The testimony adduced to show that the people work, will serve to some extent to disprove the correctness of the statement just quoted. Nevertheless, the entire moral character of the people would seem to be involved, and an appeal to the statistics of crime will no doubt settle the question.

What say the Police Magistrates on this subject:

'Hamilton, Aug. 11, 1847.

'His excellency the Governor:

'Sir,—In compliance with your excellency's direction that I should make a return to you of the amount of all fines collected by me in virtue of the Police acts since my appointment to office, and in what manner they have been disposed of, I have the honour to inform you that I have collected the sum of £32,3. I have also collected during that period, under the acts to regulate retail liquor shops and for the summary punishment of assaults, the sum of £45, 9.

I have the honour to be &c.

(Signed) 'J. P. HALL.'

Mr. Hall is the only Police Magistrate in Hamilton; is a member of H. M. Council, and was appointed Magistrate in 1838.

'St. Georges, Aug. 16, 1847.

His Excellency the Governor:

Sir,—In reply to your excellency's note requesting a return of the amount of all fines collected by me in virtue of the Police Acts since my appointment to office in 1838 to the 31st July last, I have the honour to state that the whole amount of fines collected by me under the Police Acts during that period is £26, 9, 3, and £1, 2, amount of small fines under the *Larceny Act*. I beg also to observe that £91, 3, 7, being the amount collected by me for fines for assaults and battery—offences under the act for regulating Retail Liquor shops—the pilot act—and the act for regulating measures, has been paid &c.

'I have the honour to be &c.

(Signed) JOHN T. FISHER, J. P.'

Mr. Fisher is the only Police Magistrate in St. Georges. Hamilton is the principal town, and St. Georges the second in importance.

These returns it will be seen run through a period of *nine years*.

On the 30th of May, 1848, Governor Elliot forwarded similar returns to the House of Assembly, which he had received from the same two police magistrates showing the amount of fines that had been collected by them in virtue of the Police Acts between the 30th of April '47 to 30th April '48.

Mr. Hall had received £13, 12. 0, and Mr. Fisher £8, 14, 0 Says Mr. Hall 'Latterly, within the term embraced by the return there has been a diminution of offences punished by small fines.'

(Signed) THOMAS HALL, (Police Magistrate.

Says Mr. Fisher: 'I find no material alteration in the amount of fines collected during the last three years in virtue of the acts, but compared with former years, the amounts have diminished.'

(Signed) JOHN T. FISHER, J. P.

Royal Gazette, June 6, 1848.

Says my informant, 'the act regulating weights and measures is quite a recent one; but including the fines imposed under that, the average amount of fines for the last *nine years*, is £24. 11. 2.'

'You must recollect that this £24, 11, 2, is the average annual sum received as fines for every variety of offence committed in the two towns of Bermuda, cognisable by the police Magistrate.'

It will be remembered too, that it is the whole amount of fines imposed on all classes of the people, both coloured and white.

Let us inquire a little further into this matter. The Magistrates may not be as well acquainted with the condition of the people as their religious teachers. We will listen to what they may say.

The Bermudas are divided into nine religious parishes.—The Church of England is the established Church.

The parishes are, St. Georges; Hamilton; Smith's; Devonshire, Pembroke; Paget; Warwick; Sandy's; Ireland Isle's.

To the Rectors or Church Wardens of the parishes were addressed inquiries, and answers solicited in reference to the general condition of the people—Religious, Social and Educational.

Aside from the present controversy, it would be perhaps interesting to give answers in detail, but lest too much space be occupied, and the patience of your readers wearied, it must suffice for the present to give the main portions.

Rev. J. I. Lightbourn, Rector of Pembroke and Devonshire says that he has 500 parishoners in Pembroke, and 200 of them are coloured, 176 communicants; 300 in Devonshire, 100 coloured—that the number of coloured members and communicants have 'increased considerably' since emancipation in the proportion of 'about 30 to 1' and that the coloured people not in attendance on his ministry, worship 'in a small chapel,' attended by 'from 100 to 150,' built in '1836,' 'by the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, aided by contributions from the coloured people.' That there were '57 marriages' amongst the coloured people in [illegible] years while he was in the living before emancipation at Pembroke, 'and 105 since.' 'In Devonshire 12 before' emancipation '36 since.' 'Banns are very seldom published, as the coloured people prefer paying for their marriage licenses.' &c. In regard to schools he says, there are 'four in Pembroke and three in Devonshire.' 'The latter and one of the former are under my superintendence.' 'About 190' coloured children attend. 'Three' of the schools are kept by coloured persons: and 'two' of the schools are attended by coloured and white children together. In answer to the question 'How many coloured children were at day school at the time of emancipation,' he says, 'not many.' In reply to the question 'whether the coloured people have improved or retrograded since Emancipation,' he says, 'they have, in my opinion, decidedly and greatly improved, and I think will improve still more, as they seem desirous of availing themselves of every opportunity of acquiring information.'

Mr. L. has been Rector of Pembroke and Devonshire 22 years—is a profound scholar—a member of the French Society for Promotion of Civilization in Africa—a gentleman and a consistent Christian Minister.

Rev. S. I. Stowe, Rector of Hamilton and Smith's, says that he has 290 parishoners in Hamilton, 'about one half coloured; 64 coloured communicants. '176' in 'Smith's' one half coloured—20 communicants. Number of coloured attendants increased: the marriages are 'chiefly by license.' That the coloured people 'are improving in moral principles and good conduct;' that his new church was made larger principally for the accommodation 'of the coloured parishoners.' There is one public school in Smith's parish for coloured children—40 scholars; 'two in Hamilton,' 'about 70' scholars;' these schools were established 'shortly after emancipation.'

Rev. Mr. Hoare, Rector of Southampton and Sandy's, in answer to questions addressed to him says, there are 'at St. James' Church, Sandy's parish, about 480' parishoners—a third of which may be coloured. Communicants, total about 160. Coloured about 66. 'At St. Ann's Southampton, about 200—a third of which may be coloured. Communicants about 120; coloured about 38.' 'There are two schools for white children in Sandy's parish, containing between 60 and 70 in both. There is also a school for coloured children, with about 75 scholars. The teacher is a man of colour.' 'The coloured population as a body seem to be improving,' &c.

Mr. H. is the oldest clergyman in Bermuda, and has resided there more than 25 years.

The Church Wardens of Sandy's parish, in answer to questions, say of freeholders in 1834, 'there were none,' now 'eighteen;' that their church has been enlarged since 1834, and that it was to accommodate the increased attendance of the 'coloured population,' and that they now 'own a large number' of pews. The statement is signed by J. W. Gilbert, C. W.

Rev. M. K. S. Frith, Rector of Paget and Warwick Parishes, says that he has in Paget 450 Parishoners, nearly one half coloured; Communicants 45. In Warwick 398, more than half coloured—77 Communicants. Attendance of coloured persons 'increased very much' since he become Rector; 'nearly doubled.'

'One School for white children for both Parishes, about 90 children. One School in each parish for coloured children. 40 children in Paget, 73 in Warwick; 1 established in 1835 the other in 1836. White teacher in Paget, coloured in Warwick.' 'There is one Benevolent Society in each parish, working beneficially.' 'The people have certainly improved.'

The Church Wardens of the parish of Pembroke, say in their note, that there were 6 freeholders in the parish at the time of emancipation, that in June, '48, there was 26; that their church has been enlarged since emancipation. 'Chiefly for the accommodation of the coloured parishoners;' that 'coloured and white persons were employed' in making the enlargement.

S. H. Dickinson, Church Warden, and Jno. B. Astwood Vestry Clerk of Warwick parish, say that there were *two* freeholders in the parish at the time of emancipation, but that there are now 24. That their church has been enlarged since emancipation for the more particular accommodation of the coloured people'—and that the contractor was 'coloured.'

The whole number of the coloured population of the Bermudas is stated to be 5,500. Of whites 4,500. A number of schools are maintained at private charge, attended chiefly by white children. By a report made to the Board of Education in June, '48 it is shown that 1063 children attend the public schools, that of that number 811 are coloured. 24 teachers of Public Schools, of which number 7 are coloured.

The whole number of coloured freeholders at the time of emancipation was 29—the whole number now is 154, so far as known; the number is believed to be much greater.

It is notorious that since the passage of the Emancipation Bill, that the price of lands in the Bermudas as well as the West India Islands has increased to an almost incredible degree. There is nothing 'crushing' to 'the prosperity of the Bermudas' in such a fact.

The principal hotels are kept by coloured men. The contractor for carrying and distributing the mail is a coloured man.

In addition to testimony already adduced, reference can be made to the Reports of A. A. Scott, Esq. and J. Brownlow Tucker, Esq. to the House of Assembly in 1844, setting forth the general industry of the people, as well as the charge of Chief Justice Butterfield testifying to their general good conduct.

All of the testimony from the sources stated, as well as other facts which might be adduced, utterly deny the truthfulness of the statement of your correspondent.

As to the whales 'caught,' it is true that a number are taken; and it is also true that nine-tenths of the whalers are *coloured men*.

It would seem from the statement of your correspondent that the whales are carried to the shore ready tried, stewed, or roasted, or else that it is an animal that may be demolished raw; for he says that 'there is a perfect rush on the animal, and he is soon demolished.' Suffice it to say on this point, that scenes which your correspondent describes are wholly unknown to those who are now residents of the place.

As it respects 'a description of people similar to our Barnegate pirates,' said to occupy 'portions of the Island' and the statement that 'woe betided the unlucky vessel stranded on the rocks, for everything stealable was always appropriated,' I have the authority of a highly respectable merchant in this city, a native of Bermuda, for saying, that although some years ago vessels were stranded on the rocks, the laws protected every description of property, and that the faithfulness and honesty of the wreckers and people generally, was proverbial. In reference to the 'large number of American vessels' said to be '*annually* lost there,' however true this may have been in former years in regard to a certain description of vessels, it is not true with reference to the last two or three years, as the following testimony will show.

'A light of the first magnitude was erected here in 1846, since then no vessel has, I think, been wrecked on these Islands.

'W. B. Smith, Receiver General.

'Bermuda, Oct. 14, 1848.'

I am not acquainted with your correspondent, nor can I conceive the motive which induced him to make the statements he has. If he was acquainted with the sources of information to which reference has been made, and knew the kind of testimony which they would furnish, and refused to be governed thereby; and if he is a native of Bermuda he has borne 'false witness against' his kinsmen. If he was not acquainted with those sources of information, or some others equally authentic, he has imposed upon you and your readers by attempting to give information in regard to a matter with which he was not properly acquainted.

Slavery—not the abolition of it—has had a crushing effect on the prosperity of the Bermudas; under its blighting curse there as elsewhere, the soil was impoverished and humanity brutalized. But under the genial influence and ennobling aspirations of Freedom, the prosperity of those Islands is manifest, and the people having passed through the dreadful ordeal of servitude to which they have been subjected, assuming all the attributes of manhood, give evidence that there is a redeeming spirit that accompanies human nature even in severest trials, to shield it from destruction, and to preserve its essential elements for usefulness in whatever sphere it may be designed.

Respectfully, &c.

JNO. I. ZUILLE.

N. Y. Jan. 27, 1849.

*Mr. Smith is a member of the Council, a Magistrate and a gentleman, distinguished for his great discretion and integrity.

†The chief Sail-Maker at St. Ma. Dock Yard, is a coloured man.

†The Queen's pilots are nearly all coloured.

Foreign News.

FOURTEEN DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.
ARRIVAL OF THE NIAGARA

The *Niagara*, arrived at Boston on Sunday last after a passage of fifteen days from Liverpool. She brings the stirring news to the mercantile world of heavy transactions in Cotton, an improved condition of the market for bread st uffs, and a rapid advance in American stocks.

The English Government are about to take measures to reduce the expenses of the several departments of State. The *Times* says:

We believe we may congratulate the more moderate and patient economists on the prospect of an early and considerable step in the right direction. After years of ascending expense and, descending revenue, a return to the equilibrium, beside being a positive improvement, is an earnest of better things to come. From all that we can hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be in a condition to announce early in the session a reduction in the army and navy estimates, sufficient to bring them safe within the probable revenue of the year. The twelvemonth just ended has produced a considerable income on Corn, the last that in this country will ever be levied from the staff of life; but on the other hand, it has not been a good year for mail. Taking therefore into account the evident and substantial improvement of trade, we may fairly expect that the revenue, now for half a year on the ascendant, will soon regain the level of 1846. Unless some unforseen danger or calamity should derange the calculation, we expect that with the revenue of 1846, we shall soon combine the estimates of an earlier year, yet without injury to any of our civil establishments, or measures for internal improvement. Should such a budget be announced, the common sense and gratitude of the nation would be exhibited by a hearty and unanimous support, and we have no doubt will be so exhibited.

The cholera still continues in various parts of Great Britain. It had been very fatal at Tooting and a large number of children died in the charity establishment at that place.

Dronet the keeper has been accused of manslaughter by the coroner's inquest.

The Cunard steamers, Britannia and Caledonia, have been sold, and their places are to be supplied with new ones.

Ireland.—Letters it is said, have reached the Government from Bermuda, describing the health of William Mitchell as very precarious. It has accordingly been determined that he shall be removed to another colony, the climate of Bermuda being calculated to aggravate the symptoms of the disease he labours under.

Mr. John O'Connel, the 'herditary Liberator' has been writing letters for the newspapers, which have called forth the following response.

Richmond Bridewell, Jan. 12, 1849.

Sir: Having seen in the newspapers two letters bearing your signature, in the first of which you misrepresent and insult the State prisoners, who have now no opportunity of replying to your aspersions, and in the second of which you profess to claim for them 'merciful consideration,' we cannot refrain from telling you, that though perfect

Poetry.

From the Liberty Bell.

St. Dennis.

BY CAROLINE WESTON.

In early autumn's mellow light,
Montmartre's hill was gleaming bright,
The vintage fields of Saint Ouen
Were glancing in October's sun,
The moated castle proudly stood,*
Embosomed in its ancient wood.
The arched walk—the open glade—
The summer seat—the forest shade—
The grotto dark—the fountain's flood—
The sculptured huntress of the wood—
All roused a vision of the past,
We almost heard the trumpet blast
Which summoned once a royal court
From palace halls to woodland sport,†
Receding through the forest bowers
We marked St. Dennis' distant towers.

Dim fades the vision of the past,
And feebly rings the bugle blast;
Seek we the fane where dark and deep,
France lays her mighty down to sleep.

I trod Saint Dennis' holy aisle,
Through the high arches of the pile
The chaunted psalm was pouring on
A flood of sound; the solemn tone
Sought vaulted roof and gallery fair,
And died in long vibrations there.
Each storied pane was blazoned bright
With angel, martyr, saint and knight,
And deep was worn the marble floor
By kneeling worshippers of yore.
No sunbeam seeks that pavement old
But stains it bright with legends old,
And carving quaint, and sculptures rare,
Rich shrine and costly gifts are there,
And antique tomb whose legends deem
The gothic pile—a churchman's dream.‡

I lingered in the central nave
Before the cross St. Louis gave,
And saw in transept and in aisle
Glimmer each monumental pile.
The mightiest names to history known
Are written on each fretted stone.
Beneath that stately tomb we trace
A HERO's trophied resting place,
For, graven by a cunning hand,
We see the famed historic band
Who won Marignan's bloody day,
In story named "the Giant's Fray,"
Where, circled by his conquering band,
Knighthood he sought at Bayard's hand
Who smiles in marble on his bier—
Scorning alike "reproach and fear."§

In you proud chapel's darkening gloom
A monarch slumbers on his tomb.
A queenly form beside him lies,
With folded hands and lifted eyes;
Rich gleams in sculptured marble there,
Her broidered robe, her flowing hair,
Yet rests upon that tranquil face
Of craft and cruelty the trace.
Well sleeps she now, nor starts to hear
The muttered curse still stealing near.§

On! seek the noble and the brave,
St. Louis' shrine—Du Guesclin's grave;
Mark yonder tomb—effigies rare
Show youth and beauty slumber there;
Nor dreams the royal Marguerite
Of Paynim foe or weak retreat.

'Twere vain to tell of vaulted aisle
Sunk deep beneath the holy pile,
Where slumbering dynasties may keep
Through ages their unbroken sleep.
'T were vain to tell of shrine or tomb,
Deep buried in that solemn gloom;
Of pictured walls whose legends bright
Gleam in the sacristy's dim light,
And tell how kings once came to trace
Ambition's final resting place.
How once above yon distant height,
Hovered the martyr's vision bright;
(Changed now the scene—and calm and still
Rises to day Montmartre's hill.)
Here, pictured in his pomp and pride
His nobles thronging by his side,
With cross on breast and mailed hand,
Vowed soldier of the Holy Land,—
St. Louis bends before the light
Of the high Altar blazing bright.
Proud points the mitred Abbot where
St. Dennis' banner flashing fair
Its crimson folds and tongues of flame,
A monarch's homage still must claim.
He comes to seek the banner brave
Which in the holy war must wave;
The oriflamme which France of yore,
In the red van of battle bore.

Still o'er St. Dennis' blazing shrine
Hangs the bright banner of his line;
We marked it as we turned away,
To seek again the outer day.
With lingering step we passed the gate—
Massive its bronze of ancient date,
Memorial of an early reign,
The royal gift of Charlemagne.

Just then St. Dennis' ponderous bell,
Boomed on the ear with sudden swell,
The turret trembled to the roar.
Which clanging pealed from shore to shore.
Bad sprites, as ancient legends tell,
In terror fled that tolling bell,
And startled hamlets rushed to arms,
As backward clashed its wild alarms.

* * * * * * *

I heard no more the royal tone
Startling the fields of Saint Ouen,
For the high notes of Freedom's bell
Roused from their sleep in memory's cell;
In thought I climbed the narrow stair,
And gained the homely turret, where
Beyond the wild Atlantic wave,
In Penn's fair city, calm and grave,
Hangs the old bell which rings no more,‖
For Freedom sleeps on Freedom's shore.

Long since with reverential care,
I read the legend graven there;
The artificer had ventured well,
Holy the baptism of that bell—
The work of some heroic hand
Which dared proclaim "through all the land"
FREEDOM TO ALL—as dawned the day,
Which poured on ancient fraud its ray,
And Freedom's bell with solemn roar
Declared the tyrant's empire o'er.
Men gathered, who, no longer slaves,
Chose noble lives or honoured graves,
Alas! in vain the freeman's vow—
A heavier bondage binds him now;
Nobly he laboured to BE FREE,
But shrunk from giving liberty.

Oh! when above the Atlantic's roar
Shall Freedom's bell, along the shore.
Its early tone strike true and brave,
Proclaiming freedom to the slave?

Paris, France.

* The old chateau at St. Ouen is of the time of Louis XIII. and is exceedingly picturesque and beautiful; and especially interesting as having been the residence of Neckar, and the home of Madam de Stael's childhood.

† The house where we were hospitably welcomed at St. Ouen was once a hunting-seat of Louis XVI.

‡ In the left aisle of St. Dennis stands the tomb of Dagobert, of the time of St. Louis, where, in very high relief, is exhibited the dream of a poor monk who saw the KING carried off by demons; the king, advertised of his danger, hastened to avert it by founding the neighbouring abbey.

§ Among the most remarkable tombs in the church of St. Dennis, are those of Francis I. and Claude of France, in the Southern aisle. Opposite is the monument of Henri II. and Catherine de Medicis, executed by Germain Pilon.

‖ The Liberty Bell of the Revolution hangs voiceless in its tower at Philadelphia. For some reason or other it is now never rung. The bell, like the freedom which consecrated it, cannot perhaps be safely used.

Miscellany.

LETTER OF LAMARTINE PREFATORY TO HIS CONFESSIONS.

[Translated for the Home Journal.]

LET me hasten to the subject of your letter. You ask me, what can be the character of those "Confessions," the publication of which, in its numbers, is announced by a journal very widely circulated throughout France and Europe? You have reason for surprise, to see me thus unveil to the careless glance of countless *feuilleton*-readers the private records of my obscure life, while it still continues.—"This publicity," you say, "wilts the heart's blossoms, and *feuilletons* are the base coin of literature. Why do you commit this fault?" you add, with that candor dashed with roughness which is true friendship! stoic philosophy. "It is that you may feed your soul's hunger with your own sentiments?—They will be less yours than all the world's. Is it for fame? It does not gild the cradle, and rests upon the grave of very few among men. Celebrity is but to-day's glory, and knows no morrow. Is it for money? It would be too dearly bought and too deeply toiled for, if wrung from the drops of your own veins. Explain all this, which is a mystery to me, or pause, if it be not too late."

Alas! my friend, I will explain, and with an humble avowal, in commencing, that you are in the right on every point. Yet, when you shall have listened, with indulgent ears, to my explanation, you perhaps, will mournfully confess, in your turn, that I have not been wrong. I give you, now, the bare truth; this is a confession, too, and perhaps not the least imprudent one.

You recall the period of our youth, those autumn days that I spent with you in your mother's lovely home in Dauphiné, upon that hill of Fairsite, which swells faintly from the plain of Cremieux, like a subsiding billow that wafts a vessel to the shore. I see, from this spot, the terrace embowered in vines, the garden-fountain beneath two weeping-willows which your mother had just planted, and some spray of which must now be scattering its leaflets over her tomb; the great wood behind, where echoed, at morning, the baying of your hounds; the saloon, adorned with your father's portrait in his general's uniform, with the crimson cordon of the old regime; that turret, too, filled with books, of which your mother kept the key, and which was unclosed only in her presence, for fear that our hands might gather the plants of bane for those of blessing, from amid that luxuriant and deceitful blossoming of human thought, in which the poison and the panacea grow so near each other.

You remember, too, your holiday journies to Milly where you knew my mother, who loved you almost as a son? Her kindly face, her eyes, melting with the softness of her heart, the touching and sincere accents of her voice, the calm smile that always dwelt upon her friendly lips, never contracted by any touch of sarcasm—do these linger in your memory?

What connection, is there, you will say, between all this, the mansion of Bien-Assis, the cottage of Milly, my mother and yours, and the publication of those records of your childhood? You will see.

My mother had the custom, early adopted in the somewhat conventual education she had received at Saint-Cloud, of separating the day from repose by an interval of reflection, like that which sages wish to interpose between life and death. When every one in her house retired, her children asleep in their little beds around her own, and no sound heard but their regular breathing in the room, the sweep of the wind against the shutters, and the dogs barking in the court, she gently opened the door of a cabinet filled with books of education, devotion and history; she took a seat before a little secretary of rose-wood inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl, dividing it into compartments with an imitation of orange blossoms in bouquets; she took from a drawer certain little copy-books, bound in gray paste-board, like account-books. In their pages she would write for an hour or two, without once raising her head, or letting the pen once rest upon the paper till the fit word should fall into its place.

It was the domestic story of the day, the hour's annals, the fleeting memory of things and impressions, caught and prisoned on their flying course, before night had borne them wholly away; sad or happy dates—family events—the dropping of time's sands suspended in the hour-glass—effusions of distress or melancholy—bursts of joy and gratitude—warm prayers springing from the heart to God—all the tangible signs of a nature that lives, loves, rejoices—that sorrows, blesses, prays and worships—in one word, a written soul.

These notes, thus thrown upon paper at the end of each day, like drops of her existence, at length gathered and formed at her death a great and priceless reservoir of recollections for her children.—There are twenty-two volumes of them. I have them always near me, and when I wish to meet again, to see and hear the soul of my mother, I open one of these volumes, and it appears before me.—You know how hereditary are habits. Ah! why are virtues less so! This habit of my mother's became mine at an early age. When I left college, she showed me these pages, and said to me:—

"Do as I have done—hold up a mirror to your life. Devote an hour to recording your impressions, and to looking silently into your conscience. It is well to think, in the daytime, before committing such or such an act: 'I shall blush before myself, this evening, while writing it.' It is sweet, too, to imprison the joys which vanish from us, or the tears that fall from our eyes, to find them again, years after, in these pages, and to say: 'For this, then, I have been happy! for this, I once wept!' This teaches us the uncertainty of feelings and of things; this forces us to estimate joys and sorrows, not by their value for the instant which deceives us, but by their worth for eternity, which only cannot deceive."

I listened to those words, and obeyed. But I did not obey literally. I did not every day record the day that had passed, as my mother had done. The hurrying course of life—the fire of passions—the sway of places, persons, thoughts and objects—the repentance of a conscience often wounded—which I could not have studied without sorrow and self-contempt—prevented my keeping this narrative of my steps in life with the conscientious exactness of that holy woman. But from time to time, in the tranquil hours of the soul's repose—in those lonely periods when the heart gathers round it tender memories—in those dead hours of existence that are vital only with the Past—I wrote, without care, and without thinking whether another eye than my own would ever read those pages. I wrote, I repeat, not all, but the leading emotions of my inner life. I disturbed, with the point of my pen, the ashes, warm or cold, of my past. I breathed upon those dead cinders in my heart, to restore, for yet a few days to my bosom, their warmth and glow. I did this at seven or eight different periods of my life, under the form of notes, linked to each other by no farther union than the identity of the soul which has recorded them.

This said, follow me a moment longer, and excuse the length of my letter.

Five or six years ago, I had sought a refuge, one summer, and a tranquil period of labour over the History of the French Revolution, in the little island of Ischia, midway in the gulf of Gaëta, and divided from the continent by that lovely sea without which no situation has perfect beauty for me—that visible infinitude which brings clearly before our eyes the limits of time, and half reveals the boundlessness of eternity. Ischia, as you will see in reading these pages, has always been dear to me for another reason. It is the scene of two of the most tender memories of my life: one, like infancy in its early loveliness, the other, strong, grave and lasting as the age of manhood. We love the places where we have loved. They seem to retain unchanged for us our younger heart, and to restore it to us unsullied—to love again.

One day in the Summer of 1843, I was alone, stretched under the shade of a lemon-tree, upon the terrace of the fisher's cottage which I occupied, gazing on the sea, listening to its wavelets as they swept up and away again the tinkling shells of its strand, and inhaling the rush of air which the shock of each surge flung before it, like the moist fan waved by the wretched slaves of our tropical countries before their masters eyes. I had finished examining, the day before, the memoirs, manuscripts and documents that I had brought for the history of the Girondins. Still, materials were wanting.

I had unfolded those which never fail us—our memories. I was writing upon my knee, the history of Graziella, that sadly charming by-gone tale of passion, which I had long ago experienced in this same gulf, and I was writing it in view of the island of Procida, within sight of the little ruin of the house buried in vines and its adjoining garden, to which her shadow seemed still to point.

Beneath the blazing sun I saw a boat cutting her way, under full sail, through waves of foam. A young man and a young woman were striving to shelter their heads in the shadow of the mast.

The garden gate opened, and a little lad of Ischia, who acted as guide for visitors to the island, entered, and unexpectedly announced a stranger to me. I saw a young man advancing, of a tall and graceful figure, with a slow, measured step, like that of one who bears within a thought he fears to give words to; with a manly and benignant face surrounded by a dark beard, a profile which described against the clear sky two pure Grecian lines, like those countenances of Plato's young followers which are found upon medals or cut stone of brownish white among the sands of the Piræus. I recognized the step, the profile, and the melodious voice of Eugene Pelleton, one of the friends of my second period of life. You know his name as that of one of those writers who, more than others, spread over their earlier pages the dawning light of our future glory, those who are living prophecies of the ideas about to unfold; forerunners of an age in which we shall share only by our wishes. I love Pelleton through the charm the future has for all of us. I receive him like good tidings, and like a friend.—He is one of those men who, without ever intruding, aid you to think as well as to feel.

He had left his young and pretty wife at a house by the shore. After talking a few moments of France and of this island, whither he had by chance learned at Naples that I had retired, he perceived the pages on my knee, and the half-worn pencil in my fingers. He asked what I was doing. "Will you listen to it," said I, "while your young wife is sleeping, after the fatigue of crossing, and you are yourself resting against the stem of that orange-tree?" And I read, while the sun was setting behind the Epomer, a high mountain of the island, several pages of the story of Graziella. The place and hour, the gathering shade, the sky and sea, the odor of the blossoms blended themselves with those colourless and scentless pages, and spread before him an allusion as of distance and surprise. He appeared touched by them. We closed the book, and descended to the shore; we visited the island in the evening with his wife; I entertained him until morning, and he returned. I remained until the first autumn storms in Ischia, and myself took leave of it for Saint-Point.

Urgent business recalled me thither; the *res angusta domi* of Horace, a sad phrase, which the moderns have translated by "domestic difficulties,"—"straitened fortune,"—"want of the means of life," according to various conditions. "How have you made their acquaintance?" you doubtless say to me. "Could you not free yourself of them by serving your country honestly, in the liberally rewarded career of its public business, which has never been closed against you?" That is true; but I have preferred, since 1830, to serve at my own expense in the army of God, an unpaid soldier, fighting for those ideas which have no earthly "appropriations" to support them. Whatever the cause, I was suddenly required to to pay a considerable sum that I had borrowed, to purchase from my family the property and house of my mother, that very Milly which you knew so well, and where we have so often dreamed and wandered together, when you were sixteen and I fifteen. At my mother's death, this little property, rather one of the heart than of the soil, was about to be sold, to be divided into five parts, of which I possessed not one. It was to become the property of strangers. My sisters and brothers-in-law, as much distressed as myself, generously offered me all means for preserving this common treasure of their recollections. I was then richer. I made an extraordinary effort and purchased Milly. I hoped to finish my days there. The weight of that property for the last sod of which I paid with borrowed money crushed me beneath it for a long period. I welcomed the burden, that I might escape selling a memory with every furrow. I have never repented of it. I do not repent of it now. But the hour at length came in which I must sink beneath it, or sell. I urged in vain for delay. If time has wings, the interest on a capital has the weight and swiftness of the past.

I was overwhelmed, and lost in doubt and anguish. I decided upon a course, and then receded from my resolution. I gazed despairingly from the distance towards that little gray steeple on the slope of the hill, towards the house-roof, and the tops of the lindens I knew so well, visible from the road, above the tiled-roofs of the village.

I said to myself, "I shall no more be able to pass by that road; no more to look in that direction. That steeple, that hill, those walls and roof will reproach me my life long for having yielded them up for a few bags of crowns. And those excellent villagers! those poor and hardy vine-dressers, who are my foster-brothers, and with whom I passed my childhood, eating the same bread at the same table? what will they say? what will become of them, when they are told that I have sold their fields, their vineyards, their roof-tree, their cattle and kids, and that a strange owner, who knows them not, nor loves them, will to-morrow up-root, perhaps forever, their whole destiny, deeply entwined, as mine is, with this soil, unfertile, it is true, yet their home?"

And I returned yet more harassed and perplexed. But time pressed. I sent for one of those estimable country agents, who buy property on a great scale to sell it again in smaller parts, one of those intelligent land brokers and said to him: "Sell for me as much of Milly as will raise the sum of a hundred thousand francs," or rather, as says the Merchant of Venice to the Jew, "sell me a pound of my own flesh."

He was a man of feeling, whom you know, for he is of your district, M. M———. I saw tears in his eyes. He would have renounced his profit from the transaction to spare this grief, but there was no longer time for hesitation. We went together to the spot, upon some vague pretext, to decide what part of the domain could most properly be separted from it, and be divided into lots within the means of the purchasers in the neighbourhood. But here the difficulty became more insoluble, and the suffering more intense between us. "Sir," he said to me, stretching out his arms, and cutting the air with a gesture, as a plougher cuts the soil, "there is a lot which might easily be sold in one piece, and would not cut too irregularly into that which remains." "Yes," I answered, "but it is the vineyard my father planted on my birthday, and which he has always charged us to retain in memory of him, as the best portion of the estate, watered with the sweat of his brow." "Well, then," resumed the appraizer, "here is another that would tempt buyers, of small fortunes, as it would do well for cattle." "Yes," I answered, "but that is impossible; it is the stream, the meadow and the orchard where our mother made us play and bathe in childhood, and where she reared with so much care, these apple, apricot, and cherry-trees for us. Let us look at some other part." "That hill behind the house!" But that was the boundary of the garden, and the view from the windows of our sitting-room. Who could see it now without tears in his eyes? "That group of scattered cottages then, with terraced vines slooping down to the valley?" "Ah! that is the house of my sisters' attendant, and of the old woman who reared me myself, with so much affection. It would be as well to buy them two places in the burial-ground, for the grief of being exiled from their roof-tree and their vineyard would soon bring them there." "Well, then, the mansion itself, with its buildings, the gardens, and the space about the enclosure?" "But I wish to die there in my father's bed. Impossible! it would be the self-destruction of all family affections." "What have you to object to that hollow of the valley, which cannot be seen from your windows?" "Nothing! only that it encloses the old cemetery, where were buried, in my sight, during my childhood, my little brother and a sister, I have so often wept for. Let us go elsewhere; here, on all sides, we should wound and sacrifice some sacred feeling."

We walked in vain; we could find nothing that might be detached without tearing away with it a fragment of my soul. At evening I sadly reëntered the house. I did not sleep.

The next morning the country post brought me a packet of letters. There was one from Paris. The address was written in one of those clear, rapid, firm hands, which proclaim, in the readiness of the writing, the mind's promptness, and steady resolve. I opened it. It was from M. de Girardin. "M. Pelleton," he said to me, "has spoken with interest of some pages of memories of your childhood which he heard read at Ischia. Will you send them to the press? It will send you in return whatever sum you shall ask." I answered without hesitating, by an expression of thanks and a refusal. "The sum offered by your journal," I said to M. Girardin, "is far above these few worthless pages—but I could not resolve to publish these dusty fragments from my stores of memory, devoid of interest for other eyes than mine."

The letter was sent. The notary came, six days afterwards, to settle the deed of sale of Milly. The business man had at length detached a first portion of fifty thousand francs, ready to find a purchaser. The deed was on the table. With one word I was about to put this portion forever out of my sight. My hand trembled, my look grew uncertain, and my heart failed.

At that moment some one opened my door. It was the postman. He threw a letter from Paris on the table. M. de Girardin insisted on his wish with an earnest friendliness of feeling and expression. He gave me three years to become reconciled to the idea. Distance smoothed away the sharpness of all difficulties. It mellows because it veils everything. I concealed from myself none of the bitter results that must flow from the engagement I was about to make. I weighed on one hand the misery of seeing careless eyes scrutinize the palpitating pulses of my heart, bared to a gaze that felt no charity; on the other, the rending of my soul, from which I should, by this deed, tear a portion with my own hand. I must make a sacrifice of self-love or a sacrifice of feeling. I covered my eyes with my hand, I made the choice with my heart. I took the deed for the sale of Milly from the notary's hand; I tore it, and replied to M. de G.—"I accept." Milly was saved, and I was bound. Think of Bien-Assis, and condemn me if you can. In my place, would you have done otherwise?

Let this, however, relieve you. In yielding these simple leaves, I have given up myself only. They contain neither a name nor a recollection which could be darkened, through my imprudence, by a shadow or a sorrow. I have met few bad men on my way through life. I have lived in an atmosphere of goodness, of genius, of generosity, love and virtue. I remember the good only, and forget others without an effort. My soul is like those basins in which the Mexican gold washers collect the spangles of pure metal from the torrents of the Cordilleras. The sand falls through, the gold remains in them. Are we the better for burdening our memories with aught that does not serve to strengthen, to delight, or to solace the heart?

Now, when the annoyance that this publicity that must be endured weighs too grievously on my thoughts—when I fancy the pity of some, the half smile of others, the carelessness of all in turning over those pages which should remain veiled in shadow, violations as they are of life's most sacred secrets, or of the privacy of the hearth at home, I saddle my horse, I slowly ascend the pebbly path to Milly—I see among the fields and among the vineyards on either side, peasants who welcome me from the distance with a cordial nod, a friendly gesture and a grateful smile—I take my seat under the autumn sunshine, in the most retired corner of the garden, from which my father's roof and vines and orchard are plainly seen—I gaze with moist eyes upon that little square cottage, with the huge ivy planted by mother draping its angles in softness and greenness, like natural buttresses sprung from the earth to guard our ancient walls from crumbling before me—I listen to the sound of the vine-dresser's spade turning the earth upon the hill-side that I have kept for them—I watch, as it curls up from their lava-roofs, the smoke from the fire of vine-twigs kindled by the women upon their old hearths, their signal of recal from the fields—I trace the shadow of the lindens lengthening in the evening light, creeping slowly towards me like spirits coming to caress my feet with blessings. I say to myself:—"The world censures me—my friends misunderstand me; well! I have no right to complain. But this garden, this lovely house, those vines and trees, those aged men and women, those children, thank me for the slight mortification I endure that I may keep them happy or unharmed about me till the morrow of my last evening. Ah, let me, for their sake, welcome this sorrow. I will at some time tell the story to my father, to my mother, to my sisters' spirits, when I shall meet them in the mansion of our eternal Father; and they will not blame me, ah! no—they will pity and perhaps bless me for what I have done."

Do, then, as they would, you too, my old friend! Be kindly pitying! And if you cannot approve, at least pardon me, while thinking of the walls and trees among which you are gently growing old, circled with the atmosphere of your early days and with the holy embrace of your father's memory.

A. DE LAMARTINE.

To M. PROSPER GUICHARD, of Bien-Assis.
Saint-Point, December 25, 1847.

ASTOR LIBRARY.

We are pleased that this institution has been incorporated, and that grounds will be purchased, buildings erected, and books procured, as soon as may be. One of the best provisions of the institution is, that $160,000 are to be kept as a permanent fund, for the purpose of taking proper care of the library, making, from time to time, additions to it, and for procuring public lectures. The Zaluski Library, or Library of the Republic, in Poland, originally consisted of 300,000 volumes, but, as no funds were appropriated, either for its enlargement or for its preservation, books were sold from it to defray expenses, until it was reduced to 200,000 volumes, and was finally sent by General Suwarrow to St. Petersburg. The munificence of the brothers Zaluski was thus thus lost to the Poles.

Inasmuch as we are speaking of that subject, we cannot resist the temptation to give a brief account of some of the principal libraries of Europe.

The largest and most valuable library in the world is the National Library at Paris. It was founded by Louis XI. and has been enlarged from time to time, both by plunder and purchase, until at present its contents are 350,000 printed volumes, about 80,000 manuscripts, and 50,000 portraits. It has always been under the superintendence of learned men, and is well regulated. It is open five hours each day for any one who wishes to read in it, and well known authors are allowed the use of books at their own residence.

The most celebrated library in Spain is that of the Escurial, which contains about 130,000 volumes, and some valuable Arabic MSS.

Next to the National Library of Paris, the most valuable one in Europe is that of Vienna. Twenty-five years ago, it contained 300,000 printed volumes and about 15,000 manuscripts. It was founded by Maximilian, in 1480, and its classic and Hebrew manuscripts are very rare and valuable,—in fact, some of the printed works are entirely unique.

The library at Dresden contains 150,000 printed volumes and 5,000 manuscripts. One of the manuscripts is in Merovian characters, on the human —— which, according to Thevenot, is a calendar, and some fragments of the history of the Incas.

The Library of the University of Gottingen, exceeds 150,000 volumes; that of Munich 100,000 volumes; that of Prague 130,000 printed volumes and 8000 manuscripts, and has also a table of Logarithms in the hand-writing of Tycho Brahe. At Stutgard there is a library commenced by the king of Wirtemberg, which contains 100,000 volumes, among which are 12,000 copies of the Scripture, of all editions, and in all languages.

At Copenhagen the royal library numbers about 130,000 volumes, and 3,000 manuscripts. It has 250 works collected by Niebuhr in his original travels, and four large volumes of paintings of plants, on vellum, by the celebrated Madame Merian. Since the seige the collection has suffered much.

The principal libraries in Great Britain are the Royal Library, those of the British Museum, Oxford, Cambridge, and the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh. The first has 80,000 volumes. The library of the British Museum is considered the national deposit of literature, but is chiefly valuable for its manuscripts. The Harleian MSS. amount to 10,000 volumes, besides 40,000 original rolls, letters patent, signs manuel, &c. relating mostly to Great Britain and Ireland. These libraries are open daily, and upon proper recommendation, any person can be admitted to study, but no manuscript can be copied. Sion College, an institution in London for the education of the clergy, is entitled to a copy of every book published in the kingdom.

The libraries of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge are too well known to need a description.

There are in England two private libraries which need special mention. The first, that of Sir Joseph Banks, is very copious in the department of natural history and science; the catalogue of which fills five octavo volumes. The second is that of the Earl of Spencer, amounting to 45,000 volumes,—a private library only surpassed by that of Mr. Suhm, at Copenhagen, which contained 60,000 volumes. The Advocates' Library, founded by the exertions of Sir George Mackenzie in 1680, at Edinburgh, amounts to 80,000; that of the University of Edinburgh to 50,000.

Of ancient libraries we have room to say but very little. The first library was collected in Egypt 2000 years before Christ's time. The greatest of all libraries was the Alexandrian, which amounted, according to Aulus Gellius, to 700,000 volumes. It is supposed that there was a library in the temple at Jerusalem, since the Jewish writers speak of a "multitude of Books." Pisistratus founded a public library at Athens, which was carried by Xerxes to Persia, brought back by Nicanor, plundered by Sylla, and restored by Hadrian. Eumenes, son of Attalus, collected at Pergamus a library of 200,000 volumes, which Mark Antony was accused of having given to Cleopatra.

Sucullus instituted a Library at Rome, which was enlarged by Sylla, and destined by Julius Cæsar for public use; in which Cicero studied. Libraries were established by Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, Trajan, and even Domitian. In the time of Constantine there were at Rome no less than thirty public libraries. This emperor founded at Constantinople a library of 120,000 volumes, in which was a manuscript of the Iliad and Odyssey on a dragon's skin 210 feet in length.

We have thus given a brief account of a few of the principal libraries in the world. While every country in Europe has its free public libraries, it is a disgrace for us to be behind. We do not know that there is a single free library in America. The only really large one in the country is that of the Harvard University. While we are taking the lead in every mechanical and utilitarian improvement, let us avoid the shame of neglecting any means of intellectual improvement.

We must be permitted to make one suggestion, which we hope will be uttered by the press every where, that every publisher in the city will give a copy of every book he publishes to the Astor Library. In this way, if the funds of the institution in the mean time are well managed, we may at length have a public library worthy of our country, one in which American authors will delight to study. The example of France and England ought to be enough; to say nothing of Germany, which has 150 public libraries, in which there are no less than 5 million volumes. Germany has at least 10,000 authors, producing annually from 4000 to 5000 books. Public libraries which deserve the name, would do more than anything else towards stimulating the efforts, and increaring the number of American authors, and establishing the reputation of American literature.

In our country there are in all, including those of colleges, only 182 libraries, and in these there are but 1,294,000 volumes. Among American libraries there are but 40 which contain over 10,000, but 9 over 20,000 are but 2 over 40,000 volumes each. In average size of libraries we are behind every country in Europe; in size of the largest library last of all; and in number of books in libraries compared with the population behind, save *Spain and Russia*. In free public libraries we are not only last and least, but totally *minus*. The one that is now to be established by the munificence of Mr. Astor we hope will not be forgotten by publishers, or by those who may be in want of heirs. Our country is yet young; let us look at the subject in its proper light, and we shall at length excel all in this, as well as in so many other respects.—*Tradesman's Journal.*

PHONETIC REFORM.—Amongst other movements which, in this age of movements, startle the advocates of "things as they are," we have now to chronicle a bold and organized attempt to displace our existing method of spelling. That this method is barbarous in the extreme, hardly a person who has given the subject one minute's consideration can doubt. The only thing which can be said in its favour is that it gives us some notion, not of the present pronunciation of the words of our language, but of what this pronunciation might once have been, and what it may now be or was once in the languages from which the words were originally borrowed. But besides that, this feature in our present spelling is by no means consistently carried out; the advantage itself is altogether inapplicable to an active working world, which must have a matter presented to it in a clear shape, or be deprived of its use altogether. The present no-system of spelling renders the acquisition of correct reading and writing so difficult, that the many are never able to attain these elementary branches of knowledge so as to exercise them with any degree of ease.

Mr. ISAAC PITMAN, of Bath, published, in 1839, a very ingenious system of short-hand, in which the method of spelling always by the sound of the words was adopted. This short-hand since called Phonography, spread rapidly, and assumed the character rather of a reform in writing itself than of a mere improved short-hand. A few years afterwards Mr. PITMAN, in conjunction with Mr. ALEXANDER JOHN ELLIS, turned his attention to the possibility of working out the reform in *printing* as well as in writing. Taking the existing Roman alphabet for the basis, Messrs. PITMAN and ELLIS added so many other letters, as that every elementary sound in the English language should be represented by a distinct sign, which should be used for that sound only. This system of Phonotypy was at once practically applied, and now we have a weekly newspaper printed in phonotypes. The *Phonetic News*, commenced with the present year, is conducted by Mr. ELLIS, and is the organ of the phonetic movement generally.

Some well meaning, but not over-thinking, people have said that it would be a desecration to print the works of the standard British authors in phonotypy. "Would you translate SHAKESPEARE," they exclaim, "into your new spelling?" In answer to these objections we would say, "Have we not translated SHAKESPEARE into new spelling already? Why, therefore, may we not translate him into newer?" In the first folio edition of the complete collected plays of SHAKESPEARE, published in 1623, for instance, *Hamlet*, in his famous soliloquy, says that—

"The dread of something after death,
The undiscoured countrey, from whose Borne
No traueller returnes, Puzels the will,
And makes us rather beare those illes we haue,
Than flye to others that we know not of"

No doubt the introduction of the Roman letters was thought very ridiculous by the black-letter wits of the period, when this improvement was struggling with prejudice; and those whose eye is accustomed to the absurd "good spelling" of the present day will make merry over the rational "bad spelling" of phonotomy. But truth lives down this sort of misapprehension; and our facetious contemporaries who have lately joked on the novel appearance of phonotopy will, from their genuine hatred of humbug, to a certainty some day aid the phonotypers in their attack on the giant humbug of our method of spelling.—*Jerrold's News.*

THE RETROSPECTIVE ALMANAC—BY A NERVOUS MAN IN SEARCH OF QUIET QUARTERS.

January—Finding England in a very unsatisfactory state, with apprehensions from Chartism resolved on going abroad.

February—Settled in Paris. Democratic Club constituted on the first floor under my apartment. Barricade under window—porter took up arms, and I prepared for revolutionary bier.

March—Got death of cold standing at window with rushlight. Had to attend planting Tree of Liberty and blessing same. Feet in hot water—mind ditto. Fled, after disposing of furniture at great loss, and nerves much shattered. Determined to take up abode in despotic country.

April—Settled in Milan—Revolution. House bombarded from citadel, and self injured by piano thrown on head from first floor. Fled after again disposing of furniture, and nerves entirely ruined. Determined to seek shelter under moderate government.

May—Arrived at Berlin. Revolution arrived shortly after. House made a military quarter, and self shot at several times. Fled, after again disposing of furniture; determined to try very strong despotism, and not take a house.

June—At hotel in Vienna. Government upset the day after arrival; self in cab built up into barricade, and shot over for several hours. Attempting to leave city, was arrested as Propagandist, and remained in prison a fortnight, having lost papers.

July—At a loss where to go—determined to try a small German State. Arrived at Hesse Darmstadt; found Students deposing Elector and breaking windows. Forced to drink great quantities of beer, to serious detriment of constitution, now thoroughly impaired, and fraternised with against my will as *freter Englander*.

August—Tried Frankfort, capital of *United* Germany;—found Assembly by the ears. Dropped in for two days of street fighting, which I begin to get used to.

September—Came to Brussels—very dull. No revolution expected. Found quite intolerable after excitement of last six months, and left.

October—Travelled about; looked out for some place with revolution expected. Could not find any, as revolutions over for the year everywhere. Rome recommended.

November—Arrived at Rome just in time for the attack on the Quirinal. Joined Popular Club, and fraternised with CICEROWHACCHIO. Gave Pope letters of introduction to friends in England.

December—Interesting excursion to North Italy, to Mazzini, and week's campaign with insurgents about Lago di Guarda. Price set on my head by RADETSKI. Saw advertisement in *Times* imploring me to return to distracted relatives. Don't intend to go, having made arrangements for Propagandist visit to Russia and Constantinople.—*Punch's Almanac.*

JOHN M. KEMBLE.—We (*Evening Post*,) find in the London Spectator for January 6th, a notice of "The Saxons in England; a History of the English Commonwealth till the period of the Norman Conquest. By John Mitchell Kemble;" a work upon which the critic bestows the highest praise as "conveying a clearer idea of the life and character of the Saxons in England, than anything met with elsewhere." Mr. Kemble is an elder brother of Mrs. Fanny Kemble Butler, now giving recitations from Shakspeare, in Boston. The Boston Traveller says that the following sonnet to J. M. K. by Alfred Tennyson, was addressed to this gentleman, who has the reputation of being one of the first philological scholars and most accomplished historical writers of England:

My hope and heart is with thee—thou wilt be
A latter Luther, and a soldier priest
To scare church harpies from the master's feast;
Our dusted velvets have much need of thee:
Thou art no Sabbath-drawler of old saws,
Distill'd from some worm-canker'd homily;
But spurr'd at heart with fiercest energy
To embattail and to wall about thy cause
With iron-worded proof, hating to hark
The humming of the drowsy pulpit drone
Half God's good Sabbath, while the worn-out clerk
Brow-beats his desk below. Thou from a throne
Mounted in heaven wilt shoot into the dark
Arrows of lightnings. I will stand and mark.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

"The cell where Tasso lived," says the Roman correspondent of the *Daily News*, "at St Onofrio, on the Janiculum, has been restored to its old condition by a number of amateurs, and is now the object of numerous pilgrimages."

"I wish you to make for the church," said an Episcopal vestryman one morning, to a carpenter in a neighbouring village, "two new commandment boards. We want them of free sound timber, with no knots in it."—"You'd better take some of the 'nots' out of the commandments then," replied the carpenter; "I never saw a commandment board yet that was n't full of 'em."

Nov. 16, at Bridgetown, Barbadoes at the Clarence Hotel, of which she had been proprietress for many years, Miss Eliza Howard Austin, better known perhaps, as "Miss Betsy Austin." There were but few persons in the island whom she did not know, or to whom she was not known. The amusing incidents chronicled of her in the pages of Marryatt's "Peter Simple," "Tom Cringle's Log," and other naval writers [for the "Clarence" in its palmy days, was the only resort of the gallant sons of Neptune] rendered her name familiar in various parts of the globe; and the traveller, on visiting Barbadoes would have gone from its shores wanting something, had he not visited the "Clarence," and had a chat with its popular landlady. Her old arm chair which she so well filled, alike with herself, will long be remembered. The fortunes of her house had for several years seriously declined, and the halls, which were once graced with the presence of his Majesty William the Fourth, had of late become deserted.—*Daily News.*

THEY MANAGE THESE THINGS BETTER IN FRANCE.—Bulwer has said when a man first presents himself in society in England, the question is, "What is he?" in France, "What has he done?" The difference between the two people may be traced even in the names given to their streets and public places. Take Edinburgh as a case in point, with its George-streets, Queen-streets, Prince streets, Regent's-terraces, Athol crescents, Moray-places, &c. all smelling rank of kingship and lordship—Take Paris with its Quai de Voltaire, Rues J. J. Rousseau, Moliere, Montesquieu, Montaign, Larharpe &c. In England, the newspapers record minutely the acts and movements, the out goings and incomings, of the aristocracy the French journalists fill their columns with no such rubbish.—Paris Correspondent of the *Nonconformist.*

HOW A CREATURE GOT ITS LIVING.—A "resideuter" in a village not many miles from the Scottish Border, gives the following account of what he saw, on his first peep through a microscope:—"Ye see, I gaed doon to our minister's yin day, an' he lettit me see thro' a thing he ca'd a meekiscope, at a drap o' water. Weel! I saw a' things ye could think o' i' the world. There was green things, an' grey, spott'n an'